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LECTURES

ON

MORAL PHILOSOPHY,

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE PHILOSOPHICAL ASSOCIATION,

AT EDINBURGH,

In the Winter Session of 1835–1836.

BY GEORGE COMBE.

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TO

CHARLES CALDWELL, ESQ., M. D.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY.

My Dear Sir,

Wherever Phrenology is known, in any region of the globe, you are esteemed one of its most distinguished advocates. For nearly a quarter of a century, you have indefatigably expounded its principles, urged its claims on public attention, taught its practical application, and refuted its opponents. Your works have been characterized equally by profundity and comprehensiveness of thought, extent of information, and classical eloquence of style. Every friend of the science, therefore, should feel himself deeply indebted to you for your exertions in its cause. It was this sentiment which induced me to solicit your permission to dedicate these Lectures to you; and in now doing so, I beg to express my ardent desire that your honorable career of usefulness may be prolonged to a far distant day.

With sentiments of the highest respect and esteem,

I am,

My dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

GEO. COMBE.

New Haven, Connecticut,
the 10th of March, 1840.

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PREFACE.

The Lectures now presented were composed under the following circumstances.

In 1832 an Association was formed by the industrious classes of Edinburgh, for obtaining instruction in useful and entertaining knowledge, by means of Lectures, to be delivered in the evenings, after business hours. These Lectures were designed to be popular in regard to style and illustration, but systematic in arrangement and extent. I was requested to deliver a course on Moral Philosophy, commencing in November, 1835, and proceeding on each Monday evening, till April, 1836. Another evening in each week was devoted to Astronomy; and two nights more to Chemistry. Thus, there were delivered twenty consecutive Lectures on Moral Philosophy, on the Monday evenings; fifty Lectures on Chemistry, on the evenings of Tuesdays and Fridays; and twenty-five Lectures on Astronomy, on the Thursday evenings. The audience amounted to between five and six hundred persons of either sex.

In twenty Lectures, addressed to such an audience, only a small portion of a very extensive field of science could be touched upon. It was necessary, also, to avoid, as much as possible, abstract and speculative questions, and to dwell chiefly on topics simple, interesting, and practically useful. These circumstances account for the introduction of such subjects as Suretyship, Arbitration, Guardianship, and some others, not usually treated of in works on Moral Philosophy.

A large number of my audience had studied Phrenology, and many of them had read "The Constitution of Man." I did not hesitate, therefore, to found the Lectures on phrenological principles. As, however, they were not regular students of philosophy, but persons engaged in practical business, their recollection of the principles could not be entirely relied on, and it became necessary to re-state these at considerable length. This is the cause of a more extensive repetition, in these Lectures, of portions of "The Constitution of Man," and of my phrenological writings, than, in ordinary circumstances, would have been admissible.

The Lectures were reported, by one of my hearers, in the "Edinburgh Chronicle" newspaper, and excited some attention. Still, however, I did not consider them worthy of being presented to the public, as a separate work, and they have never appeared in this form in Britain. I transmitted a copy of the "Reports" to a friend in Boston, and they were re-printed in this city, by Messrs. Marsh, Capen and Lyon, in a small duodecimo volume. The entire edition was purchased by the American public; and, encouraged by this indication of approval, I sent for the original manuscript, (which I did not bring with me to this country,) and now present to them the Lectures at full length.

I am aware that, in founding Moral Philosophy on Phrenology, I shall appear to those persons who have not ascertained the truth of the latter science, to be putting forward mere conjectures as the basis of human duty.

In answer to this objection, I respectfully remark that physical truths exist independently of human observation and opinion. The globe revolved on its axis, and carried the pope and seven cardinals whirling round on its surface, at the very moment when he and they declared the bare assertion of such a fact to be a damnable heresy, subversive of Christianity. In like manner, the brain performs its

functions equally in those who deny, and in those who admit their existence. I observe that in one anti-phrenologist, in whom the anterior lobe is small, the intellect, *ceteris paribus*, is feeble; and that in another, in whom it is large, the intellect is powerful, altogether independently of their own belief in these facts. I have remarked, also, that when the brain of an anti-phrenologist has been diseased in a particular organ, he has become deranged in the corresponding faculty, notwithstanding his denial of all connection between them. The fact, therefore, that many persons do not admit the truth of Phrenology, does not necessarily render it an imaginary science. The denial by Harvey's contemporaries, of the circulation of the blood, did not arrest the action of the heart, arteries, and veins.

In Phrenology, as in Physiology and other sciences, there are points still unascertained, and these may hereafter prove to be important; but the future discovery of the functions of the spleen, will never overturn the ascertained functions of the lungs or spinal marrow; and in like manner, the ascertainment of the uses of certain unknown parts at the base, will not alter the ascertained functions of the anterior lobe and coronal regions, of the brain. I consider the phrenological principles on which I have founded the following Lectures, to be established by such an extensive induction of facts, that they will sustain the severest scrutiny and not be found wanting; and I shall abide with confidence the verdict of those, who, by study and observation, shall have rendered themselves competent to judge of their merits.

A writer in the New York Review, in criticising, in his first number, the "Reports" of these Lectures, asserts that I give moral science the "precedence of revelation, and maintain that its decrees are sufficient to set aside those of the Bible." He refers to my remarks on divorce, and on the observance of the Sabbath, as examples.

In reply to this objection, I beg leave to observe, that every sect in Christendom, and the legislature of every christian country, interpret the scriptures according to their own judgment of what is right. The New Testament, for instance, confines divorce to the single case of infidelity in the wife; but the law of England denies divorce on any account whatever. The law of Scotland allows divorce for infidelity in either of the spouses, and also for wilful desertion, by either of them, of the society of the other, for four years. The Revised Statutes of Massachusetts (Chap. 76, Sec. 5,) permit divorce "for adultery," or defect "in either party, or when either of them is sentenced to confinement to hard labor in the state prison, or in any jail or house of correction, for the term of life, or for seven years or more; and no pardon, granted to the party so sentenced, after a divorce for that cause, shall restore the party to his or her conjugal rights." This, according to the reviewer, should be called "setting aside" the decrees of the Bible, for those of human legislators.

Again: In the New Testament, no express injunction is laid on Christians to observe the first day of the week in the same manner that the Jews were commanded, in the Old Testament, to observe the last day of the week, or Sabbath. In point of fact, there is no explicit prescription in the New Testament, of any particular mode of observing the first day of the week. While, therefore, all christian nations have agreed in considering themselves not bound by the fourth commandment, to observe the seventh day, or Jewish Sabbath, they have differed in regard to the mode of observing the first day of the week; and as the scripture prescribes no definite rule, each nation has adopted such forms of observance as appeared to itself to be most accordant with the general spirit of Christianity. Thus, in Catholic countries, amusements are permitted on Sundays, after

divine service; in Scotland, amusements and labor, except works of necessity and mercy, are prohibited. In Scotland also, Sunday commences at twelve o'clock on Saturday night, and ends at twelve o'clock on Sunday night. In Massachusetts, on the other hand, different views are entertained. While Chap. 50, Secs. 1st, 2d, and 3d, of the Revised Statutes prohibits all persons from doing any work, and from travelling on "the Lord's day," Sec. 4th declares that day, for the purposes of these sections, "to include the time between the midnight preceding and *the sunsetting of the said day.*" According to the Scottish law, therefore, Sunday consists of twenty-four hours, at all seasons of the year; while, according to the "Revised Statutes of Massachusetts," it consists only of sixteen and a half hours on the 22d of December, and stretches out as the days lengthen, but never exceeds nineteen and a half hours at any period. Accordingly, in Scotland, a person would be fined or imprisoned for doing acts after sunset, on the Sunday evening, which in Massachusetts are entirely lawful. Again; in the Revised Statutes of this Commonwealth, it is declared, by Sec. 5, that "no person shall be present at any game, sport, play, or public diversion, except concerts of sacred music, upon the evening next preceding or following the Lord's day," under the penalty of paying a fine of five dollars. In Scotland, the best plays and public entertainments are brought forth on the "evening next preceding the Lord's day," or Saturday evening,—and are then most numerously attended: so that in Boston a Christian is fined in five dollars for doing, on that evening, what a Christian in Edinburgh is permitted to do, without any penalty whatever. Is this "setting aside the Bible," or is it not?

I could greatly multiply the examples of sects and national legislatures interpreting scripture differently from each other; and yet no sensible person seriously accuses

them of giving their own wisdom "precedence of revelation," or of "maintaining that their decrees are sufficient to set aside those of the Bible." But when, by investigating God's will, as it is inscribed on the works of creation, we propose to afford some assistance to the leaders of sects and legislators, in their enterprizes of interpreting scripture, we are immediately accused of "setting aside the Bible"! And when we suggest to them the advantage of interpreting it in harmony with the laws of nature, we are blamed for giving "science the precedence of revelation"!

On reading such charges, one might be led to suppose that there is only one interpretation of scripture, and that all christian nations are agreed on it; and that, therefore, no additional aid is wanted towards arriving at truth and unanimity; but every intelligent person knows how widely the fact differs from this supposition. With all deference, then, to clerical leaders, it appears to me that a knowledge of the natural laws is a valuable guide to the sound interpretation of scripture; and that no interpretation can possibly be permanently admitted, which palpably conflicts with the dictates of these laws.

Again: It has been said that "Mr. Combe appears almost entirely unconscious of the fact, that mere knowledge, unaided by a higher influence, does little for the virtue of mankind." A more correct statement of my opinions, as they are expressed in my writings, would have been this: "Mr. Combe asserts that mere knowledge is *not* sufficient to ensure virtuous action. He therefore strongly urges on parents and teachers the necessity of training the affections and sentiments of children, which are the great sources of action. He adds, however, that knowledge is indispensable to the successful training of the active powers, and he regards the Creator's works and laws as the most valuable chapter of natural study. He is of opinion that since the

age of miracles has passed by, 'the higher influence' always acts in harmony with, and gives effect to the dictates of the natural laws; and that this 'influence' does not enable individuals, who neglect the study of those laws, to escape from the penalties of infringing them. In the 16th and 17th centuries, when divines and their flocks were ignorant of natural philosophy, 'a higher influence' did not preserve them from the atrocious crime of burning old women as witches. A knowledge of philosophy has completely accomplished this end. In our own day, this 'influence' does not prevent the leaders of sects and legislators from interpreting scripture in contradiction to each other, and occasionally in diametrical opposition to the natural laws. He, therefore, considers that in recommending, in the most earnest manner, the study of the Creator's laws, as expounded in his works, he is throwing no disparagement on the efficacy of 'a higher influence,' but, on the contrary, is preparing the minds of men to receive it with effect."

The same reviewer states other objections against the doctrines contained in the "Reports" of these Lectures; but I consider it necessary to advert only to one of them. He quotes from the "Reports" the following words:— "Every act is morally *right* which is approved of by an enlightened intellect, operating along with the moral sentiments of Benevolence, Conscientiousness, and Veneration; while all actions disapproved of by these faculties are wrong;" and he continues, "Here we would ask, *whose* 'enlightened intellect' is referred to in the above passage, or how we can know when our own becomes sufficiently enlightened to be taken as a guide? Is this giving us one moral standard, or many?" After the fashion of my countrymen, I would answer this question by propounding to the reviewer another. What moral standard does he himself possess? He will probably answer, "the scripture;"

but I reply that the scripture is differently interpreted by different minds; and I again enquire, whose mind constitutes the standard of infallible interpretation? The Pope answers, that the minds of himself and of his Cardinals, acting in council, do so. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, however, deny the pretension of the Pope and Cardinals, and virtually claim it as belonging to themselves. The Episcopalians, Unitarians and Universalists, on the other hand, affirm that the Church of Scotland has no more legitimate claim to infallibility in interpreting scripture, than the Pope. Where, then, is the standard to be found? In my opinion, the decisions of those individuals, who possess the largest development of the moral and intellectual organs, and the most favorable combination of them in relation to each other and to the organs of the animal propensities; who also possess the most active temperaments, and who have cultivated all these gifts to the highest advantage, will be entitled to the greatest respect as authorities on questions of morals and religion; and there will be a tendency in other minds to adopt their interpretastions of the precepts dictated by nature and revelation, as the soundest guides which they will be able to obtain. If this standard be imperfect, it is not more so than all the other standards that now exist.

With these observations, I present the following work to the consideration of the people of the United States of America, and shall respectfully bow to whatever judgment they may be pleased to pronounce on its merits.

Boston, Massachusetts,
January 1, 1840.

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MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE.

ON THE FOUNDATION OF MORAL SCIENCE.

In an introductory discourse on Moral Philosophy, the lecturer unfortunately has few attractions to offer. His proper duty is, not to descant in glowing terms on the dignity of moral investigations, and on the extreme importance of sound ethical conclusions both to public and private happiness; but to give an account of the state in which his science at present exists, and of what he means to teach in his subsequent prelections. With this for his theme, no subject can be conceived more destitute of direct attraction, and more difficult to invest with popular interest. I must beg your indulgence, therefore, for the dryness of the details, and the abstractness of the argument, in the present lecture. I make these observations that you may not feel discouraged by an appearance of difficulty in the commencement. I shall use every effort to render the subject intelligible, and I promise you that this shall be the least practical and most ab-

struse of the whole course, so that your patience shall not be so severely tasked hereafter.

Our present inquiry is into the basis of morals regarded as a *science;* that is, into the *natural* foundations of moral obligation.

The first observation then, which I make, is, that there are two questions, very similar in terms, but widely different in substance, which we must carefully distinguish. The one is, what actions *are* virtuous? and the other, what *constitutes* them virtuous? The answer to the first question fortunately is not difficult. Most individuals agree that it is virtuous to love our neighbor, to reward a benefactor, to discharge our proper obligations, to love God, and so on; and that the opposite actions are vicious. But when the second question is put—*why* is an action virtuous,—why is it virtuous to love our neighbor, or to manifest gratitude or piety? the most contradictory answers have been given by philosophers. The discovery of what constitutes virtue is a fundamental object in moral philosophy; and hence the difficulties of the subject meet us at the very threshold of our inquiries. It appears to me, that man has received a definite bodily and mental constitution, which clearly points to certain objects as in themselves excellent, to others as proper, and to others as beneficial; and that endeavors to attain these objects are prescribed to us as duties by the law written upon our constitution; while, on the other hand, whatever tends to defeat their attainment is forbidden. The web-foot of the duck, for instance, clearly bespeaks the Creator's intention that the creature should swim, and He has given it an internal impulse which prompts it to act accordingly. The human constitution indicates various courses of action to be designed for man, as clearly as the web-foot indicates the water to be a sphere of the duck's activity;

but man has not received, like the duck, blind instincts to make him act in accordance with the adaptations of his constitution:—He is endowed with reason, qualifying him to discover both the adaptations themselves, and the consequences of acting in conformity with, or in opposition to them. Hence, before we can determine, by the light of reason, what constitutes an action virtuous or vicious, we must become acquainted with our bodily and mental constitution, and its relations. Hitherto this knowledge has been wanting. Philosophers have never been agreed about the existence or non-existence even of the most important mental faculties and emotions in man,—such as benevolence, the love of God, or the sentiment of justice; and being uncertain whether such emotions exist or not, they have had no stable ground from which to start in their inquiries into the foundations of virtue. Accordingly, since the publication of the writings of Hobbes, in the 16th century, there has been a constant series of disputes among philosophers on this subject. Hobbes taught that the laws which the civil magistrate enjoins are the ultimate standards of morality. Cudworth endeavored to show that the origin of our notions of right and wrong is to be found in a particular faculty of the mind which distinguishes truth from falsehood. Mandeville declares that the moral virtues are mere sacrifices of self-interest made for the sake of public approbation, and calls virtue the "political offspring which flattery begot upon pride." Dr. Clarke supposes virtue to consist in acting according to the fitnesses of things. Mr. Hume endeavored to prove that "utility is the constituent or measure of virtue." Dr. Hutcheson maintains that it originates in the dictates of a moral sense. Dr. Paley does not admit such a faculty, but declares virtue to consist "in doing good to mankind in obedience to

the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness." Dr. Adam Smith endeavors to show that sympathy is the source of moral approbation. Dr. Reid, Mr. Stewart, and Dr. Thomas Brown maintain the existence of a moral faculty. Sir James Mackintosh describes conscience to be compounded and made up of associations. Dr. Ralph Wardlaw, of Glasgow, in a work on ethics, published in 1834, can see nothing in Conscience except Judgment.

Here then we discover the most extraordinary conflict of opinion prevailing concerning the constitution of the human mind. But this does not terminate the points of dispute among philosophers in regard to moral science. Its very existence, nay, the very possibility of its existence as a philosophical study, is called in question. Dr. Wardlaw says, "suppose that a chemist were desirous to ascertain the ingredients of water. What estimate should we form of his judgment, if, with this view, he were to subject to his analysis a quantity of what had just passed in the bed of a sluggish river, through the midst of a large manufacturing city, from whose common sewers, and other outlets of impurity, it had received every possible contamination which, either by simple admixture or by chemical affinity, had become incorporated with the virgin purity of the fountain; and if, proceeding on such analysis, he were to publish to the world his *thesis* on the composition of water? Little less preposterous must be the conduct of those philosophers, who derive their ideas of what constitutes rectitude in morals from human nature *as it is*. They analyze the water of the polluted river, and refuse the guide that would conduct them to the mountain spring of its native purity." (p. 44.)

In these remarks Dr. Wardlaw evidently denies the possibility of discovering, in the constitution of the hu-

man mind, a foundation for a sound system of Ethics. He supports his denial still more strongly in the following words:—"According to Bishop Butler's theory," says he, "human nature is '*adapted to virtue*' *as evidently as* '*a watch is adapted to measure time.*' But suppose the watch, by the perverse interference of some lover of mischief, to have been so thoroughly disorganized,—its moving and its subordinate parts and power, so changed in their collocation and their mutual action, that the result has become a constant tendency to go backward instead of forward, or to go backwards and forwards with irregular, fitful, ever-shifting alternation,—so as to require a complete remodelling, and especially a readjustment of its great moving power, to render it fit for its original purpose;—would not this be a more appropriate analogy for representing the present character of fallen man? The whole machine is out of order. The mainspring has been broken; and an antagonist power works all the parts of the mechanism. It is far from being with human nature, as Butler, by the similitude of the watch, might lead his readers to suppose. The watch, when duly adjusted, is only, in his phrase, 'liable to be out of order.' This might suit for an illustration of the state of human nature *at first*, when it received its constitution from its Maker. But it has lost its appropriateness *now*. That nature, alas! is not now a machine that is merely 'apt to go out of order;'—it *is* out of order; so radically disorganized, that the grand original power which impelled all its movements has been broken and lost, and an unnatural power, the very opposite of it, has taken its place; so that it cannot be restored to the original harmony of its working, except by the interposition of the omnipotence that framed it." (p. 126.)

The ideas here expressed by Dr. Wardlaw, are entertained, with fewer or more modifications, by large

classes of highly respectable men, belonging to different religious denominations.

How, then, amidst all this conflict of opinion as to the foundations, and even possibility of the existence of moral science, is any approach to certainty to be attained?

I have announced that this course of Lectures will be founded on Phrenology. I intend it for those hearers who have paid some attention to this science,—who have seen reasonable evidence that the brain consists of a congeries of organs,—that each organ manifests a particular mental faculty,—and that, other conditions being equal, the power of manifesting each faculty bears a proportion to the size of its organs. To those individuals who have not seen sufficient evidence of the truth of these positions, I fear that I have little that can be satisfactory to offer. To them, I shall appear to stand in a condition of equal helplessness to that of all my predecessors, whose conflicting opinions I have cited. These eminent men have drawn their conclusions, each from his individual consciousness, or from observing human actions, without having the means of arriving at a knowledge of the fundamental faculties of the mind itself. They have, as it were, seen men commit gluttony and drunkenness, and in ignorance of the functions of the stomach, have set down these vices as original tendencies of human nature, instead of viewing them as abuses merely of an indispensable appetite. Without Phrenology I should find no resting place for the soles of my feet; and I at once declare, that without its aid, I should as soon have attempted to discover the perpetual motion, as to throw any light, by the aid of reason alone, on the moral government of the world. The reason of this opinion, I have already stated. Unless we are agreed concerning what the natural constitution of the mind

is, we have no means of judging of the duties which that constitution prescribes. Once for all, therefore, I beg leave to be permitted to assume the great principles and leading doctrines of Phrenology to be true; and I shall now proceed to show you in what manner I apply them to unravel the Gordian knot of Ethics, which at present appears so straightly drawn and so deeply entangled. I do not despair of revealing to your understandings principles and relations, resembling, in their order, beauty, and wisdom, the works of the Creator in other departments of science.

First, then, in regard to the possibility of moral philosophy existing as a natural science. Dr. Wardlaw speaks of the human mind as of a watch that has the tendency to go backwards, or fitfully backwards and forwards; as having its mainspring broken,—and as having all the parts of the mechanism worked by an antagonist power. This description might appear to be sound to persons who, without great analytic powers of mind, resorted to no natural standard except the dark pages of history, by which to test its accuracy: but the Phrenologist appeals at once to the brain, which is the organ of the mental faculties. Assuming that it is the organ of the mind, I ask who created it? Who endowed it with its functions? Only one answer can be given. It was God. When, therefore, we study the mental organs and their functions, we go directly to the fountain head of true knowledge, regarding the natural qualities of the human mind. Whatever we shall certainly ascertain as being written in them, is doctrine imprinted by the finger of God himself. If we are certain that these organs were instituted by the Creator, we may rest assured that they have all a legitimate sphere of action. Our first step is to discover this sphere, and to draw a broad line of distinction between it and the sphere of abuses; and

here the superiority of our method over that of philosophers who studied only their own consciousness and the *actions* of men, becomes apparent. They confounded abuses with uses, and because man is liable to abuse his faculties, they drew the conclusion, prematurely and unwarrantably, that his whole nature is in itself evil. Individual men may err in attempting to discover the functions and legitimate spheres of action of the mental organs, and dispute about their conclusions, but this imputes no spuriousness to the organs themselves, and casts no suspicion on the principle that they *must* have legitimate modes of *manifestation.* There they stand; and they are as undoubtedly the workmanship of the Creator, as the sun, the planets, or the entire universe itself. If so, whenever we interpret them aright, we shall assuredly be in possession of divine truth.

Dr. Wardlaw might as reasonably urge the fall of man, as an argument against the possibility of studying the science of optics, as against that of cultivating ethical philosophy. Optics is founded on the structure, functions, and relations of the eye; and ethics on the structure, functions, and relations of the mental organs,—against optics he might argue thus:—"The eye is no longer such as it was when it proceeded from the hands of the Creator; it is now liable to blindness, or if in some more favored individuals, the natural corruption does not proceed so far as to produce this dire effect, yet universal experience proves that human nature now labors under opaque eyes, squinting eyes, long sighted eyes, and short sighted eyes; and that many individuals have only one eye: The external world also is no longer what it originally was. There are mists which obscure the rays of light, clouds which intercept them, air and water which refract them; and almost every object in creation re-

flects them. Look at a straight rod half plunged into water, and you will see it crooked. Can a science founded on such organs, operating in such a medium, and directed to such objects, be admitted into the class of ascertained truths, by which men are to regulate their conduct?" He might continue, "Astronomy, with all its pompous revelations of countless suns, attended by innumerable worlds rolling through space, must also be laid in the dust, and become a fallen monument of human pride, and mental delusion. It is the offspring of this spurious science of optics. It pretends to record discoveries effected in infinite space by means of these perverted human eyes, acting through the dense and refracting damps of midnight air. Away with such gross impositions on the human understanding! Away with all human science, falsely so called!

There would be as much truth in an argument like this, as in that urged by Dr. Wardlaw, against moral philosophy, founded on the study of nature. The answer to these objections against optics as a science, is, that the constitution, functions, and relations of the eye have been appointed by the Creator; that, although some unsound eyes exist, yet we have received judgment to enable us to discriminate between sound eyes, and diseased, or imperfect eyes. Again, we admit that these mists occasionally present themselves; but we ascertain the laws of the incidence of light by observations made at times when these are absent. Certain media also unquestionably refract the rays of light, but they do so regularly, and their effects can be ascertained and allowed for. When, therefore, we observe objects by means of sound eyes, and use them in the most favorable circumstances, the knowledge which we derive from them is worthy of our acceptance as truth

The parallel holds good in regard to the mind, to a much greater extent than many persons probably imagine. The Creator has fashioned the whole organs of the human mind; conferred on them their functions, and appropriated to them their relations. We meet with some individuals, in whom the organs of the animal propensities are too large, and the moral organs deficient: these are the morally blind. We see individuals who, with moderate organs of the propensities, have received large organs of Benevolence and Veneration, but deficient organs of Conscientiousness; these have a moral squint. But we meet also with innumerable persons in whom the organs of the propensities are moderate, and the moral and intellectual organs well developed, who thereby enjoy the natural elements of a sound moral vision; and who need only culture and information to lead them to moral truths, as sound, certain, and applicable to practice, as the conclusions of the optician himself. Revelation necessarily supposes in man a capacity of comprehending and profiting by its communications; and Dr. Wardlaw's argument appears to me to strike as directly at the root of man's capacity to understand and interpret scripture, as to understand and interpret the works and natural institutions of the Creator.

Dr. Wardlaw, we have seen, discards natural ethics entirely, or insists that scripture is our only guide in morals. Archbishop Whately, on the other hand, who is not less eminent as a theologian and certainly more distinguished as a philosopher than Dr. Wardlaw, assures us that "God has *not revealed to us a system of morality such as would have been needed for a being who had no other means of distinguishing right and wrong.* On the contrary, the inculcation of virtue and reprobation of vice in scripture, are in such a tone as *seem to presuppose a natural power,* or a capacity for ac-

quiring the power to distinguish them. And if a man, denying or renouncing all claims of natural conscience, should practice without scruple, every thing he did not find expressly forbidden in scripture, and think himself not bound to do any thing that is not there expressly enjoined, exclaiming at every turn—

'Is it so nominated in the bond?'

he would be leading a life very unlike what a Christian's should be."

In my humble opinion, it is only profound ignorance of human nature, on the one side or the other, that can lead to such contradictory opinions as these. I agree with Archbishop Whately.

By observing the organs of the mind, then, and the mental powers connected with them, Phrenologists perceive that three great classes of faculties have been bestowed on man.

1. Animal Propensities.
2. Moral Sentiments.
3. Intellectual Faculties.

Now, considering these in detail, as I have done in my previous courses, and in my system of Phrenology, and as I now assume that all of you have done, we do not find in one of them, that man has made, or could have made himself. Man can create nothing. Can we fashion for ourselves a new sense, or even add a new organ, a third eye for instance, to those we already possess? Impossible. All those organs, therefore, are the gifts of the Creator, and in speaking of them as such, I am bound to treat them with the same reverence that should be paid to any of his other works. I ask where, then, in contemplating the organs, do we find the evidence of the mainspring being broken? Where do we find the antagonist power, which works all the mechanism contrary to the

original design? Has it an organ? I cannot answer these questions: I am unable to discover either the broken mainspring, or an organ for the antagonist power. I see, and feel—as who does not?—the crimes, the errors, and miseries of human beings, to which Dr. Wardlaw refers as proofs of the disorder of which he speaks; but Phrenology gives a widely different account of their origin. We observe, for example, that individual men commit murder or blasphemy, and we all acknowledge that this is in opposition to virtue; but we do not find an organ of murder, or an organ whose office it is to antagonize all the moral faculties, and to commit blasphemy. We perceive that men are guilty of gluttony and drunkenness, but we no where find organs instituted, whose function is to commit these immoralities. All that we discover is, that man has been created an organized being; that as such, he needs food for nourishment; that in conformity with this constitution, he has received a stomach calculated to digest the flesh of animals and to convert it into aliment; that he sometimes abuses the functions of the stomach; and when he does so, we call this abuse gluttony and drunkenness. We observe farther, that in aid of his stomach, he has received carnivorous teeth; and in order to complete the system of arrangements, he has received an instinct having a specific organ, prompting him to kill animals that he may eat them. In accordance with these endowments, animals to be killed and eaten are presented to him in plentiful abundance by the Creator. A man may abuse this instinct and kill animals for the pleasure of putting them to death—this is cruelty; or he may go a step farther,—he may wantonly, under the instigation of the same propensity, kill his fellow men, and this is murder. But this is a totally different view of human nature from that which sup-

poses it to be endowed with positively vicious and perverse propensities, with a mainspring that only goes backwards, or goes alternately and fitfully backwards and forwards. Those individual men, then, who commit murder, abuse the carnivorous instinct of their nature by directing it against their fellow men. We have *evidence* for this fact; because we find uniformly that the organ is very large in those who have so abused it, and in general the moral organs are deficient.

Again, we admit that men steal, cheat, lie, blaspheme, and commit many other crimes; but we in vain look in the brain for organs destined to perpetrate these offences, or for an organ of a power antagonist to virtue, whose proper office is to commit crimes in general. We discover organs of Acqusitiveness, which have legitimate objects, but which being abused, lead to theft; organs of Secretiveness, which have a highly useful sphere of activity, but which also, when abused, lead to falsehood and deceit; and so with other organs.

These organs, I repeat, are the direct gifts of the Creator; and if the mere fact of their existence be not evidence sufficient of this proposition, we may find overwhelming proof in favor of it by studying their relations to external nature. The theologians who deny that the human mind is the same now as it was when it emanated from the hand of the Creator, generally admit that external nature at least, is the direct workmanship of the Deity. They do not say that man, in corrupting his own dispositions, altered the whole fabric of the universe,—that he infused into animals new instincts, or imposed on the vegetable kingdom a new constitution, and different laws. They admit that God created all these such as they exist. Now, in surveying vegetable organization, we per-

ceive production from an embryo;—sustenance by food;—growth, maturity, decay, and death;—woven into the very fabric of their existence. In surveying the animal creation, we discover the same phenomena, and the same results: and in surveying ourselves, we find, that we too, are organized, that we assimilate food, that we grow, that we attain maturity, and that our bodies die. Here, then, there is an institution by the Creator, of great systems, (vegetable and animal,) of production, growth, decay, and death. It is worse than folly to doubt that these institutions owe their existence to the Divine will.

If it be asserted that man's sin offended the Deity, and brought his wrath on the offenders; and that the present constitution of the world is the consequence of that displeasure; philosophy offers no answer to this proposition. She does not inquire into the *motives* which induced the Creator to constitute the world physical and mental, such as we see it; she leaves this inquiry exclusively to theologians; but, in pointing to the existence and constitution of vegetables, of animals, and of man, she respectfully maintains that all these God *did* constitute, and endow with their properties and relationships; and that in studying them we are investigating his genuine workmanship.

Now, if we find on the one hand a system of decay and death in external nature, animate and inanimate, we find also in man a faculty of Destructiveness which desires destruction, and which places him in harmony with that order of creation:—if we find on the one hand an external world, in which there exist—fire calculated to destroy life by burning, water by drowning, cold by freezing, ponderous and moving bodies capable of injuring us by blows, and a great power of gravitation exposing us to danger by falling;—we discover, also, in surveying our own mental constitution, organs of

Cautiousness, whose office it is to prompt us to take care and to avoid these sources of danger. In other words, we see an external economy admirably adapted to our internal economy; and vice versa; hence we receive an irresistible conviction that the one of these arrangements has been obviously and clearly framed in relation to the other. External destruction is related to our internal feeling of destructiveness;—external danger to our internal sentiments of cautiousness. I have frequently remarked that one of the most striking proofs of a Deity, appears to me, to be afforded by simply surveying the roots of a tree, and its relationship to the earth. These are admirably adapted; and my argument is this:—The earth is a physical substance, which knows neither its own existence, nor the existence of the tree: the tree also, knows neither its own qualities, nor those of the earth. Yet the adaptation of the one to the other is a real relation, which we, as intelligent beings, see and comprehend. That adaptation could not exist, unless a mind had conceived, executed, and established it; the mind that did so, is not of this world;—therefore a Deity who *is* that mind, exists, and every time we look on this adaptation, we see His power and wisdom directly revealed to us. The same argument applies to the mental faculties, and external nature; and with equal force. We see all the foregoing objects in nature threatening us with danger, and we find in ourselves an organ and faculty prompting us to take care of our own safety. This adaptation is most assuredly divine; but you will observe that if the adaptation be divine, the things adapted must also be divine: the external world threatening danger must have been deliberately constituted such as it is; and the human mind must have been deliberately constituted such as it is; otherwise this adaptation could not exist.

Again,—We find that the human body needs both food and raiment; and on surveying the external world we discover that in a great portion of the earth there are winter's barren frosts and snows. But in examining the human faculties, we find instincts and organs of Constructiveness, prompting and enabling us to fabricate clothing; and Acquisitiveness prompting us to acquire and store up articles fitted for our sustenance and accommodation, so as to place us in comfort when the chill winds blow and the ground yields us no support. Farther—we discover that external nature presents us with numberless raw materials, fitted to be worked up, by means of our faculties, into the very commodities of which our bodies stand in need. All these gifts and arrangements, I repeat, are assuredly of divine institution; and divine wisdom, goodness and power are conspicuously displayed in them all. But you will observe that individual men, by abusing the faculty of Constructiveness, oftentimes commit forgeries, pick locks, and perpetrate other crimes, and that by abusing Acquisitiveness they steal.

Here then, you will observe, there is a wide difference between Dr. Wardlaw's views and mine, in regard to human nature. His broken mainspring and antagonist power are nowhere to be met with in all the records of philosophy; while the crimes which he ascribes to it are all accounted for by abuses of organs clearly instituted by the Creator, having legitimate spheres of action, and wisely adapted to a world obviously arranged by Him in relation to them.

Dr. Wardlaw, I repeat, has looked at nature only in the actions of men, and has not distinguished between the faculties bestowed by the Creator, and the abuses of them, for which individual men alone are answerable.

If in these views I am well founded, moral philoso-

phy, as a natural study, becomes not only possible, but exceedingly interesting and profitable. Its objects must evidently be to trace the nature and sphere of action of all our faculties, and their relations to the external world, with the conviction that to use them properly is virtue, to abuse them vice.

If these principles be sound, they enable us to account for the barren condition of moral philosophy, as a science.

The numerous errors, the confusion and contradiction of previous moralists, are to be ascribed to their having no stable philosophy of mind. They possessed no knowledge of the organs of the mind, and no sufficient means of discriminating between what was natural and what incidental in human conduct. Sir James Mackintosh remarks, that "there must be primary pleasures, pains, and even appetites, which arise from no prior state of mind, and which, if explained at all, can be derived only from *bodily organization;* for, says he, if there were not, there could be no *secondary* desires. What the number of the underived principles may be, is a question to which the answers of philosophers have been extremely various, and of which the consideration is not necessary to our present purpose. The rules of philosophizing, however, require that causes should not be multiplied without necessity."

With all deference to Sir James Mackintosh's authority, I conceive that the determination of "the number of the underived principles" of mind, is the first step in all sound mental science, and especially in ethics; and when he admits that these "can be derived only from bodily organization," it is unphilosophical in him to add, "that the rules of philosophizing require that causes should not be multiplied without necessity." Who would think of attempting either

to multiply or diminish senses, feelings, or intellectual powers depending on bodily organization, unless he could multiply and diminish, make and unmake, corresponding bodily organs at the same time?

In my system of Phrenology I have presented you with a view of the underived principles of mind, connected with specific organs, in so far as these have been ascertained; I have endeavored to point out the sphere of action of each. I have also explained the effects of size in the organs on the power of manifesting these faculties. These points being assumed, we have laid an intelligible foundation for ethical science. Bearing in mind the three great divisions of the human faculties into animal propensities, moral sentiments, and intellectual powers, I solicit your attention to Bishop Butler's exposition of the groundwork of moral philosophy.

Bishop Butler, in the preface to his Sermons, says, "It is from considering the relations which the several appetites and passions in the inward frame have to each other, and, above all, the supremacy of reflection, or conscience, that we get the idea of the system or constitution of human nature. And from the idea itself it will as fully appear, that this our nature, *i. e.* constitution, is adapted to virtue, as from the idea of a watch it appears that its nature, *i. e.* constitution or system, is adapted to measure time.

"Mankind has various instincts and principles of action, as brute creatures have; some leading most directly and immediately to the good of the community, and some most directly to private good.

"Man has several which brutes have not; particularly reflection or conscience, an approbation of some principles or actions, and disapprobation of others.

"Brutes obey their instincts or principles of action,

according to certain rules; suppose the constitution of their body, and the objects around them.

"The generality of mankind also obey their instincts and principles, one and all of them; those propensities we call good, as well as the bad, according to the same rules, namely, the constitution of their body, and the external circumstances which they are in.

"Brutes, in acting according to the rules before mentioned, their bodily constitution and circumstances, act suitably to *their whole nature.*

"Mankind, also, in acting thus, would act suitably to their whole nature, if no more were to be said of man's nature than what has been now said; if that, as it is a true, were also a complete, adequate account of our nature.

"But that is not a complete account of man's nature. Somewhat further must be brought in to give us an adequate notion of it; namely, *that one of those principles of action, conscience, or reflection,* compared with the rest, as they all stand together in the nature of man, *plainly bears upon it marks of authority over all the rest, and claims the absolute direction of them all,* to allow or forbid their gratification;—a disapprobation of reflection being in itself a principle manifestly superior to a mere propension. And the conclusion is, that to allow no more to this superior principle or part of our nature, than to other parts; to let it govern and guide only occasionally, in common with the rest, as its turn happens to come, from the temper and circumstances one happens to be in; *this is not to act conformably to the constitution of man:* neither can any human creature be said to act conformably to his constitution of nature, unless he allows to that superior principle the absolute authority which is due to it."—(*Butler's Works,* vol. ii. *Preface.*)

I agree then clearly with Butler, in thinking that

certain of our faculties are intended to rule, and others to obey; and that the feeling that it is so, is intuitive and instinctive in well constituted minds.

According to Phrenology, the intellectual faculties perceive objects that exist, with their qualities, phenomena, dependencies and relations; but they do not feel emotions. The organs of intellect lie in the anterior lobe of the brain. In the coronal region there are organs which manifest emotions or feelings, called the moral sentiments, viz., Benevolence, Veneration, and Conscientiousness. The power in any individual of experiencing each of these emotions bears a relation (other conditions being equal) to the size of its own organs. These emotions are felt to have a commanding authority conferred on them, so that whatever actions they denounce as disagreeable to them, are felt to be wrong, and whatever actions they feel to be agreeable, are pronounced to be right; and we can give no other account of this order of our nature, except that it has pleased God thus to constitute us.

In applying these principles to our present subject, I observe that the organ of Philoprogenitiveness, for example, exists, and that its proper function is to produce the love of children. This love carried into action may produce a variety of effects. It may prompt us to gratify every desire of the child, however fantastic, if the indulgence will give it pleasure for a moment; but when the intellect is employed to trace the consequences of this gratification, and sees that it is injurious to the health, the temper, the moral dispositions, and the general happiness of the infant, then Benevolence disapproves of that mode of treatment, because it leads to suffering, which Benevolence dislikes; Conscientiousness disapproves of it, because it is unjust to the child to misdirect its inclinations through ignorant fondness; and Veneration is offended

by it, because our duty to God requires that we should improve all his gifts to the best advantage, and not prepare an infant for crime and misery, by cultivating habits of reckless self-indulgence, regardless of all ultimate results. If in any individual mother, Philoprogenitiveness exist very large, in combination with weak organs of the moral sentiments and intellect, she may abuse this beautiful instinct of parental affection, by pampering and spoiling her children; but it is an error to charge this conduct of an ill constituted, or perhaps an ill informed individual mind, against human nature in general, as if all its faculties were so perverted that they could manifest themselves only in abuses. Now my object will be to expound the courses of action prescribed by our natural faculties, and to apply to them the plumb line of combined intellect and moral sentiment; and I shall admit all actions to be virtuous or right which are in harmony with that line, and denounce all as abuses and vicious which deviate from it; and my doctrine is, that *it is this harmony which constitutes certain actions virtuous, and this deviation which constitutes others vicious.*

We are now able to understand the origin of the various theories of the foundation of virtue to which I adverted at the commencement of this lecture, and which have been the themes of so much discussion among philosophers. According to the majority of the authors whom I have quoted, the three great foundations of virtue are, 1st, That all actions are virtuous which tend to promote the happiness of sentient and intelligent beings, and that they are virtuous because they possess this tendency; 2dly, That all actions are virtuous which are conformable to the will of God, and that they are virtuous for this reason, and no other: and 3dly, That all actions are virtuous

which are in conformity with the dictates of our moral sense or moral faculty, and that this conformity is the sole requisite of virtue. The partizans of each of these foundations of virtue have denied the reality or sufficiency of the other foundations. These differences of opinion may be thus accounted for: The sentiment of Benevolence desires universal happiness, or the general good of all beings. When we wantonly sacrifice the happiness of any being, *it* is pained, and produces uneasy emotions in our minds. Those philosophers who place the foundation of virtue in the tendency of the action judged of, to produce happiness, are right, in so far, because this is one foundation, but they are wrong in so far as they teach that it is the only foundation of virtue.

In like manner the organ of Veneration desires to yield obedience to the will of God, and it experiences painful emotions when we knowingly contravene its dictates. Those philosophers who place the essence of virtue in obedience to the will of God, are sound in their judgment, in so far as this is one essential element of virtue, but they err in so far as they represent it to be the only one.

And thirdly, Conscientiousness produces the feelings of duty, obligation, incumbency, and of right and wrong. It desires to do justice in all things. It enforces the dictates of our other moral faculties. Benevolence, for instance, from its own constitution, desires to communicate happiness, and Conscientiousness enforces its dictates by proclaiming that it is our duty to act in conformity with them. It causes us to feel that we are guilty or criminal if we wantonly destroy or impair the enjoyment of any being. It enforces also the aspirations of Veneration, and tells us that we are acting wrong if we disobey the will of God.

Further, its own special function is to enforce justice, when our own rights or feelings, and those of other men, come into competition. Those philosophers who founded virtue in a moral sense, were right in so far as this faculty is one most important foundation of virtue; but it is not the only one.

The Phrenologist considers the virtue of an action to consist in its being in harmony with *all of these faculties*. And here I beg particularly to call your attention to the fact, that these faculties may, and indeed very generally do, act separately; but that, because they all proceed from the Creator, their constitutions and dictates harmonize. We have a similar example in music. Melody and Time both enter into the constitution of music, but we may have time without melody, as in beating a drum; or melody without time, as in the sounds of an Æolian harp. But the two faculties are constituted so as to be capable of acting in harmony, when they are both applied to the same object. It is the same in regard to the moral sentiments. If a man fall into the sea, another individual, having a large Benevolence, and who can swim, may be prompted, by the instinctive impulse of benevolence, instantly to leap into the water and save him; without, in the least, thinking of the will of God, or the obligations of duty. But when we calmly contemplate the action, we perceive it to be agreeable at once to the divine will, conformable to the dictates of Conscientiousness, and gratifying to Benevolence;—and this arises from these faculties being so constituted that their dictates harmonize with each other. In like manner every action that is truly conformable to the will of God, or agreeable to Veneration, will be found just and beneficial in its consequences, or in harmony also with Conscientiousness and Benevolence. And

every just and right action will be discovered to be beneficial in its consequences, and also in harmony with the will of God.

When one of these faculties acts independently of the other, it does not *necessarily* err, but it is more liable to do so, than when all operate in concert. This is the reason that any theory of morals, founded on only one of them, is generally imperfect or unsound.

The idea of resolving morality into intellectual perceptions of utility; into obedience to the will of God; or into any single principle, has arisen, probably, from the organ of that one principle having been largest in the brain of the author of the theory, in consequence of which he felt most strongly that particular emotion which he selected as its foundation. Those individuals again who deny that there is *any natural* basis for moral science, and who regard the Bible as the only foundation of moral and religious duty, are generally deficient in the organs either of the moral sentiments, or of the intellect; or in both; and because *they* feebly experience the dictates of a natural conscience, they draw the inference that it is the same with all mankind.

Another question remains,—by what means do we discover *the qualities of actions*, so that our moral faculties may give their verdicts of approval or condemnation upon sound data? For example—Veneration disposes us to obey the will of God, but how shall we discover what the will of God is? It is the office of the intellect to do so. For example—A young lady from England had been taught from her infancy that God had commanded her to keep Good Friday holy, and sacred to religious duties. When she came to Scotland for the first time, and saw no sanctity attach-

ed to that day, her organ of Veneration felt disagreeably affected; and if she also had treated the day with indifference, her conscience would have upbraided her. In a few weeks afterwards, the half yearly fast day of the Church of Scotland came round, and she felt no sanctity whatever to be attached to it;—her intellect had never been informed that either God or the Church had appointed that day to be held sacred; she desired to follow her usual occupations, and was astonished at the rigid sanctity with which the day was kept by the Scots. Here the intellect gave the information, and Veneration acted according to its lights.

The intellect must be employed, therefore, to discover all the motives, relations and consequences of the actions to be judged of, and the moral sentiments will give their verdicts according to the knowledge received. In a great many ordinary cases no difficulty in judging occurs; for instance, the mere perception of a fellow creature struggling in the water, is sufficient at once to rouse Benevolence, and to inspire us with the desire to save him. But when the question is put, Is an hospital for foundling children benevolent?—if we look only at one result, (saving the lives of individual children) we would say that it is; but if the intellect observe *all* the consequences—for instance, first, the temptation to vice afforded by provision being made for illegitimate children;—secondly, the mortality of the infants, which is enormous, from their being withdrawn from maternal care and entrusted to mere hireling keepers;—thirdly, the isolation of the children, so reared, from all kindred relationship with the rest of the race;—and fourthly, the expense which is thrown away in this very questionable arrangement: I say, after the intellect has discovered and contem-

plated all these facts and results, the sentiment of Benevolence would not be gratified with foundling hospitals, but would desire to apply the funds dedicated to them to more purely beneficent institutions. Without intellect, therefore, the sentiments have not knowledge; and without moral sentiments, the intellect sees merely facts and results, but feels no emotions.

If, then, this theory of our moral constitution be well founded, it explains the darkness and confusion of the opinions entertained by previous philosophers on the subject.

First—Dr. Wardlaw's antagonist power is merely the animal propensities acting with undue energy, and breaking the bounds prescribed to them by the moral sentiments and intellect. They will be most liable to do this, in those individuals in whom the organs of the propensities are large, and those of the moral sentiments deficient; but there is no organ or faculty in itself immoral, or necessarily opposed to the moral sentiments, as Dr. Wardlaw supposes.

To be able, then, to discover what courses of action are at once beneficial in their tendency, agreeable to the will of God, and conformable to the dictates of Conscientiousness, we must use our intellectual faculties in examining nature. Believing that man and the external world are both the workmanship of the Creator, I propose, in the following Lectures, to consider—

1st. The constitution of man as an *individual;* and endeavor to discover what duties are prescribed to him by its qualities and objects.

2d. I shall consider man as a domestic being, and endeavor to discover the duties prescribed to him by his constitution, as a husband and a father.

3dly. I shall consider man as a social being, and discuss the duties arising from his social qualities. This will involve the principles of government and political economy.

4thly. I shall consider man as a religious being, and discuss the duties which he owes to God, so far as these are discoverable from the light of nature.

LECTURE II.

ON THE SANCTIONS BY WHICH THE NATURAL LAWS OF MORALITY ARE SUPPORTED.

In my last lecture, I endeavored to point out the foundations on which Moral Philosophy, inferred from the constitution of Nature, rests. The mental organs and faculties being the gift of God, each must have a legitimate use and sphere of activity, though doubtless liable to be abused; and the rule for discriminating between uses and abuses is, that every act is morally *right* which is approved of by enlightened intellect, operating along with the moral sentiments of Benevolence, Conscientiousness, and Veneration; while all actions disapproved of by these faculties are *wrong*. Such is the *internal* guide to morality with which man has been furnished.

The next inquiry is, Whether the judgments of our moral and intellectual faculties are supported by any *external* authority in nature? Every law supposes a lawgiver, and punishment annexed to transgression. Certain courses of action being prescribed and forbidden by the very constitution of our faculties, God, who made these and their organs, is consequently the Lawgiver: but the question remains—Has he used any means to give sanction, *in this world*, to his commands revealed to us in Nature? All are agreed that

rewards and punishments have been established by God; but as to the *extent*, *manner*, and *time* of dispensing them, very different opinions exist. By some it is conceived that God, like the human magistrate, watches the infringement of his laws in each particular instance, and applies punishment accordingly; but that neither his punishments nor his rewards are the *natural* effects of the conduct to which they have reference. Such is the view of the ways of Providence embodied in Parnell's "Hermit;" and many of us may recollect the pleasure with which we perused that representation in our youth, and the regret which we felt, that experience did not support the beautiful theory of the poet. A servant is described as having been thrown over a bridge by his companion, and drowned, which event at first shocks our Benevolence; but we are then told that the servant intended that evening to murder a kind and indulgent master, and that his companion was an angel sent by God to prevent, and also to punish him for his intended crime. Another scene represents a rich man's son dying apparently of convulsions; but we are told that it was an angel who suffocated him, sent by God to snatch him away from his parents, because their affections doated too fondly on him, and led them to forget their duty to heaven.

These representations, of course, are fictions; but it is not difficult to trace notions of a character essentially similar to them, existing in the minds of many serious persons, and constituting their theory of the divine government of the world. The grand feature of this system is, that the punishment does not follow from the offence, by any natural bond of connection, but is administered directly by a special interposition of Providence. The servant's wicked design had no natural connection with his falling over the bridge;

and the neglect of heaven, by the parents of the child, had no such natural relation to the state of its lungs, as that it should have died of convulsions in consequence of that sin. There are, as I have said, some religious persons who really entertain notions similar to these; who believe that God, by special acts of providence, or particular manifestations of power, rewards and punishes men's actions in a manner not connected by any natural links of cause and effect, with their offences; or at least, so remotely connected that the link is not discernible by human sagacity. They conceive that this view imparts a sublime mysteriousness to the divine government, which renders it more imposing, solemn, and awful; and better calculated, than any other, to enforce obedience on men. On the contrary, it appears to me to be erroneous, and to be a great fountain of superstition, at once derogatory to the dignity of the divine ruler, and injurious to the moral, intellectual and religious character of his subjects. I shall in a subsequent part of the lecture state the reasons of this opinion.

Another opinion entertained regarding the moral government of the world is, that God has revealed in the scriptures every duty which he requires man to perform, and every action which he forbids him to do; that he leaves him at full liberty in this life, to obey or disobey these commands, as he pleases; but that in the world to come he will call him to account, and punish him for his sins, or reward him for his obedience. There are strong objections to this theory.— Religious persons will at once recognize that the instruction communicated to man in the scriptures may be classed under two great heads. The first class embraces events that occurred before the existing state of nature commenced, (such as the transactions in Paradise before the fall:) also, events that transcend

nature, (such as the resurrection of Jesus Christ;) and events that are destined to occur when nature shall be no more, (such as the final judgment)—and certain duties, such as belief, or faith, which are founded on these communications. In regard to all of these, science and philosophy are silent, and the Bible is the only rule and direction at once of faith and practice. The second head has reference to the practical conduct which man is bound to pursue with regard to the beings in this world itself. The first objection, then, to the theory of the divine government last mentioned, is that the Bible, although perfect as a rule of salvation, really does not contain a complete revelation of man's secular duties.

In the last Lecture, I quoted a striking passage to this effect, from Archbishop Whately. The Scriptures assume that man will use the intellect and moral faculties which have been bestowed on him, to discover and to perform many duties relative to this life, which they have not fully unfolded. It is a very important duty to manage the physical education, as also the moral and intellectual training of children, aright, and yet the scripture contains no specific rules for discharging these duties. It tells us to train up a child in the way he should go, and that when he is old he will not depart from it; but it does not describe, with practical minuteness, what that way *is*. If it do so, every incompetent schoolmaster, and every ignorant mother, who injures her children through lack of knowledge, have sadly neglected the study of their Bibles. But even the most pious and assiduous students of the sacred volume, differ sadly among themselves in regard to the training of their children; and the scriptures, therefore, must be either silent, or very obscure on this point. How many thousands of christian parents neglect the physical education of their children, alto-

gether, and in consequence either lose them by death, or render them victims of disease! Again, each sect instructs its children in its own tenets, and calls this the way in which they should go; yet, when we observe the discord and animosity that prevail among these children when they become men and women; when we see the Protestant denouncing the Catholic as in error; the Catholic excommunicating the Protestant as a heretic; the Trinitarian denouncing the Unitarian as an infidel; and the Unitarian condemning the Trinitarian as superstitious; we have proof certainly, that the children, when old, *do not* depart from the way in which they have been trained; but we see as clearly, that it is impossible that *all* of them can have been trained in the *right* way; otherwise there could not be such wide differences and so much hostility between them. I can discover, therefore, in the Bible no complete code of secular duties, as this system assumes that there is. In my work on the "Constitution of Man," I have endeavored to show that God intended that we should employ our mental faculties in studying his works, and by this means fill up the chapter of our secular duties, left incomplete in the Bible.

The second objection to the theory in question is—that it essentially implies that God exercises very little temporal authority in the government of this world, reserving his punishments and rewards chiefly for a future life. One cause of this view seems to be that most of the teachers of morals and religion have confined their attention to moral and religious duties, and often to their own peculiar and erroneous interpretation of these duties; instead of taking a comprehensive survey of human nature and of *all* the duties inscribed on its constitution. They have regarded life as monks do;—not practically. They observed

that sometimes a man who believed and acted according to their notions of sound religion and sterling virtue, fell into worldly misfortune, lost his children prematurely by death, or was himself afflicted with bad health; or that other men, who acted in opposition to their notions of right, flourished in *health and wealth*, and possessed a vigorous offspring; and they in consequence concluded that God has left the virtuous man to suffer here, for his probation, intending to reward him hereafter; and the wicked to prosper, with the view of aggravating his guilt and increasing the severity of his future punishment. They have never attempted to reconcile these apparent anomalies to reason, or to bring them within the scope of a just government on earth. Now, it humbly appears to me that God does exercise a very striking and efficient jurisdiction over this world, and that it is our own ignorance alone of the manner in which he does so, that renders us blind to its existence and effects.

It is of the greatest importance to establish the reality and efficiency of the divine government in this world, because a plausible argument has been reared on the contrary doctrine; and it has been maintained that there can be *no* reward and punishment *at all*, if they are not administered in this life. The line of reasoning by which this doctrine is supported is this: We can judge of God, it is said, only from his works. His works in this world are all that we are acquainted with. If, therefore, in our experience, in this life, we find that virtue goes unrewarded, and that vice triumphs, the legitimate inference is that it will always be so. Bishop Butler, indeed, in his celebrated Analogy, has argued, that *because* God has *not* executed complete justice here, he *must* intend to do so hereafter, as justice is one of his attributes; but Mr.

Robert Forsyth, in his work on moral science,* has stated the objection to this line of argument in strong terms. "If," says he, "God has created a world in which justice is not accomplished, by what analogy, or on what grounds, do we infer that any other world of his creation will be free from this imperfection?" Butler would answer, "because justice is an attribute of the Divine mind." The opponents, however, reply, "How do you know that it is so? We know the Deity only through his works; and if you concede that justice is not accomplished in their administration, the legitimate inference is that justice is *not* one of his attributes: at least the inference that it is one of them, is not logical; for it would be analogous to maintaining that a certain bridge which we see lying in ruins, and which was assailed by no forces which the architect could not command, is a proof of his knowledge, wisdom and skill." I have heard this last argument stated, although I have not seen it printed.

It is of great importance to moral science to find a valid answer to these objections; and the most satisfactory to my mind would be one which shewed that the Divine ruler actually does execute justice here; and that therefore, we are entitled legitimately to infer that he will be just also hereafter; and such, accordingly, is the argument which I respectfully propose to maintain. When we obtain the right clue to the system of the moral government of the world, innumerable perplexities will be found to disappear.

The key to the divine government is a knowledge of our own nature, the nature of things and beings around us, and the relations subsisting among them. We have received propensities and sentiments urging

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* Mr. Forsyth is an eminent advocate of the Scottish bar. He still lives, 1839.

us to act, but they are all blind impulses, and in this respect resemble the appetite for food. That appetite being active, we feel hunger and desire food; but unless we employ our intellectual faculties to find edible substances, and also to discriminate wholesome from unwholesome viands, we might either starve, or eat poison, and die. We must also employ our intellectual faculties to discover the means of gratifying all our propensities and sentiments, and the most beneficial forms of doing so. To the lower animals reason has been denied, and they are impelled to go directly to the objects that are advantageous for them, without experience, and without any other guide than God's wisdom, operating, unknown to them, through the medium of their instincts; but to man is left a wider range of action. He has received knowing faculties to study external nature in its physical aspects, and reflecting intellect to study its active and passive powers and the relations of the whole to himself. Regularity of action has been impressed on nature, so that man should not be bewildered in his studies and perplexed in his conduct; the same causes, in similar circumstances, producing at all times the same effects. It is this principle of order which leads us to a right understanding of the government of the world, and which fits *it* so admirably for being a school in which to exercise and improve all the faculties of man. Each object and being of nature, physical and animal, has received a definite constitution, and while the circumstances in which it is placed continue unchanged, it acts invariably according to the laws of that constitution. The supposed anomalies in the divine government, are apparent only, and form no exception to the Creator's attribute of justice, when properly understood. The key to them is the separate and independent action of the different departments of our

own constitution and of external nature, *or the independent operation of the natural laws.* This doctrine is explained in the "Constitution of Man;" and I here advert to it, as the grand fundamental principle of all our future investigations. Viewing the world on this principle, we discover,

1st, That the *laws* which regulate the action of inanimate matter operate purely as *physical* influences, independently of the moral or religious character of those whom they affect. If six persons be travelling in a coach, and if it break down through insufficiency of the axle, or other cause, the human beings will be projected against external objects according to the impetus communicated to their bodies by the previous motion of the vehicle, exactly as if they had been inanimate substances of the same texture and materials. Their vices or their virtues will not modify the physical influences that impel or resist them. The cause of the accident is simply the imperfection of the axle, and not the displeasure of God against the individual men for their sins. If one break a leg, another an arm, a third his neck, and the fourth escape unhurt, the difference of result is to be ascribed solely to the difference of the mechanical action of the coach on their bodies, according to their differences of size, position, or other qualities, or to difference in the objects against which they are projected, one falling against a stone, another perhaps alighting on a turf.

The whole calamity in such a case is to be viewed simply as a punishment for not attending to the physical laws, in other words for neglecting to have an axle sufficiently strong; and the object of it is to render men who are in charge of coaches more attentive to this duty in future. The common sense of mankind has led them to recognise this principle in their laws, for in most civilized countries the proprietors of pub-

lic vehicles are held answerable for damages occasioned by their insufficiency. It is recognized also in scripture. "Think not, says Christ, that those on whom the Tower of Siloam fell, were sinners above all Israel." In other words the Tower of Siloam, like all other edifices, stood, in virtue of the law of gravitation, as long as its foundations were sound, and its superstructure firm, and it fell when one or other of these gave way, without the least reference to the persons who were below it. The fall would have occurred equally, whenever these causes operated, whether any human beings had been under it, or not; and also independently of the moral and religious qualities of these beings.

If in the coach a profligate had been saved, and a valuable christian killed, some persons would have wondered at the inscrutable ways of Providence; but both the bad and the good have received from the Creator organized bodies which require to be carefully protected from injury that they may live, and the real lesson taught by this calamity, is, that no moral or religious qualities will be admitted as an excuse for not preserving the body from injury by observing the physical laws. If a soldier were to appear at parade with the touch-hole of his musket rusted up, and when ordered into confinement for this breach of discipline, were to refer to the profound respect with which he always treated his officers, to the brilliant state in which he kept the barrel of his gun, and to the small, obscure nature of the touch-hole, which made it escape observation; the answer would be, that the object of his musket was to fire, and that a clear touch-hole was a primary and indispensable requisite to this end, the want of which could not be compensated for, or supplied by, respectful demeanor to his officer, by a brightly polished barrel, or by any other means whatever. A sound

body is equally indispensable to christian usefulness, as a clear touch-hole to a serviceable musket. I have elsewhere remarked, that if good men could sail in safety in unsound ships, or travel in dilapidated carriages, upborne by unseen ministers of heaven, on account of their holiness, the world would lapse into confusion; and these good men themselves would soon find nothing provided for them, but the most deplorably crazy conveyances, into which sinners could not with safety set a foot.

The objection may naturally occur, that passengers have neither skill nor opportunity for judging of the soundness of ships, and sufficiency of coaches, and that it is hard that they should suffer death and destruction from the carelessness or incapacity of others who let out these articles to hire or employ them in the public service. I shall unfold the answer to this objection at a subsequent part of the course. It falls under the social law. We avail ourselves of the good qualities of our fellow men, and we must suffer from their bad qualities, when we entrust our interests or safety to their care, without due regard to their qualifications.

In so far, then, as pain, distress and calamity, arise from the action of the physical laws, (which laws are numerous, and their operations extensive,) they ought to be viewed merely as punishments for not obeying these laws, and which punishments are intended to stimulate us to greater attention in observing them in future. They forcibly tell us, that if we wish to live in safety, we must habitually exercise our understandings in accommodating our conduct to the agencies of the material objects around us. It seems irrational to suppose that God will hereafter reward good men for the sufferings which they bring upon themselves by neglecting to study and observe his own injunctions.

The next class of natural laws to which I solicit your attention, is the *organic*. The foundation of these laws is laid in the constitution of our organized frame, and in the relations established between it and the external world. Thus, the blood is necessary, in order to furnish every part of our body with nutriment, so as to replace the decayed particles continually carried off by the absorbent vessels, and also to stimulate the brain and other organs so as to enable them to perform their functions aright. But to render the blood capable of doing this, it must be supplied with chyle from the stomach, and oxygen from the lungs; and hence a necessity arises for eating wholesome food and breathing pure air. The bones are composed of certain materials, and are supplied with certain vessels for their nutrition, and with others for the removal of their decayed particles, and all of these act regularly, just as the mechanism of a plant acts. The same observations apply to the muscles, the skin, the blood vessels, the brain, and all other parts. Now the point of doctrine which it is of importance for us to keep in view at present, is, that growth and decay, health and disease, pleasure and pain, in any one or in all of these parts, take place according to fixed principles or laws, which are founded in the constitution of the organs themselves, and which act invariably, independently and immutably. For instance—if we neglect exercise, the circulation of the blood becomes languid, and then the bones, muscles, nerves and brain are not properly nourished; the consequences of which are pain, loss of appetite, of strength, of mental vivacity and vigor, and a general feeling of unhappiness. If we labor too intensely with our minds, we exhaust our brains, impair digestion, destroy sleep, and soon render those brains, which are the organs of the mind, incapable of action, and we are visited with

lassitude, imbecility, palsy, apoplexy, or death. If we exercise our muscles too severely, and too long, we drain off the whole nervous energy of our bodies by our arms and legs, and the brain then becomes incapable of thinking and the nerves incapable of feeling, so that dulness and stupidity seize on our mental powers.

It is, therefore, an *organic law* of God, as clearly proclaimed to our understandings as if it were inscribed with his own finger upon tables of stone,—Thou shalt consume a sufficiency of wholesome food, and breathe unvitiated air. And however moral our conduct may be,—however constant our attendance in the house of prayer,—however benevolent our actions, —yet, if we neglect this organic law, the punishment is inexorably inflicted. In like manner, if the laws of exercise be infringed,—if we overwork the brain, for example,—we are visited with punishment, whether the offence was committed in reclaiming the heathen, in healing the sick, in pursuing commerce, in gaming, or in ruling a state. If we overwork the brain at all, it becomes exhausted, and its action is enfeebled; and as the efficiency of the mind depends on its proper condition, the mental powers suffer a corresponding obscuration and decay.

There is obvious reason in this arrangement also. If the brain were to flourish under excessive toil, in a good cause, and suffer under the same degree of exertion only in a bad one, the whole order of nature would become confused. Good men would no longer be men; they might dispense with food, sleep, repose, and every other enjoyment which binds them to the general company of mankind. But according to the view which I am expounding, we are led to regard the constitution, modes of action, and relations of our organized system, as all instituted directly by the Creator;—birth from organized parents, growth, de-

cay, and death in old age, appear as inherent parts of our very frames, designedly allotted to us; while pain, disease, *premature* decay, and early death, appear to be the consequences solely of our not obeying sufficiently the organic laws; in other words, not using our constitutions properly.

When, therefore, we see the children of good men snatched away by death, in infancy or youth, we should ascribe this solely to these children having inherited feebly organized bodies from their parents, or having, through ignorance or improper treatment, been led to infringe the organic laws in their modes of life. The object of their death is to impress on the spectators the unspeakable importance of attending to these laws, and to prevent the transmission of imperfect corporeal systems to future beings. If we see the children of the wicked flourishing in health and vigor, the inference is, that they have inherited strong constitutions from their parents, and have not in their own lives seriously transgressed the organic laws. We have no authority from our philosophy for supposing that Providence, in removing the just man's children, intends merely to try his faith or patience, to wean him from the world; or, that he does so with a view to recompense him hereafter for his suffering; nor for believing that he permits the unjust man's family to flourish, with a view of aggravating his guilt by adding ingratitude for such blessings to his other iniquities, in order to augment his punishment in a future life.— We see in these results, simply, the consequences of obedience and disobedience to the laws impressed by the Creator on our constitution. Mark, now, from what endless perplexities and difficulties this principle delivers us. When the children of good men are healthy, this circumstance is regarded as agreeable to the notions which may be reasonably entertained

of a just Providence. But when other men, not less excellent, have feeble children, who die prematurely and leave the parents overwhelmed with grief, the ways of Providence are regarded as inscrutable, or we are told that those whom God loveth he chasteneth. When, however, the wicked man's children die prematurely, this is regarded as a just punishment for the sins of the parents: but sometimes, they live long, and are prosperous; and this is cited as an example of the long suffering, and loving kindness of God!— The understanding is confounded by these contradictory theories, and no conclusions can be drawn from the events at all reducible to *our practical improvement.* Accordingly, ministers of the gospel, who have entertained these heterogeneous notions of the divine government, have not only neglected to teach God's natural laws to their flocks; but they have represented natural science as the handmaid of infidelity, and especially phrenology as opposed to christianity.— Yet, while they have done so, they have not escaped from the punishment inflicted by the divine laws. Their discourses have been miserably barren of useful practical instruction, concerning the cause of virtue in this world; and they have not felt at ease in their own minds, regarding the stability and progress of religion. When they shall become the true expounders of God's will in regard to this world, which at present, many of them are not, (although in regard to the next world, I am far from questioning their fidelity,) they will find that their difficulties will greatly diminish, when they look at the independence of the natural laws,—when they recognize the principle that obedience to each has its peculiar reward, and disobedience its appropriate punishment. The man who obeys every law but one, is punished for that sin-

gle breach; and he by whom one only is obeyed, does not, on account of his neglect of all the others, lose the reward of his solitary act of obedience.

It still remains quite true, that "those whom God loveth, he chasteneth," because all the punishments inflicted for the breach of his laws are instituted in love, to induce us to obey them for our own good; but we escape from the contradiction of believing that he sometimes shows his love by *punishing* men who *obey* his laws, which would be the case if he afflicted good men by bad health, or by the death of their children, merely as trials and chastisements, independently of their having infringed the laws of their organic constitution.

We escape also from another contradiction. The most religious persons who implicitly believe that disease is sent as a chastisement for sin, or in token of divine love, never hesitate, when they are sick, to send for a physician, and pay him large fees to deliver them as speedily as possible from this form of spiritual discipline. This is very inconsistent on their parts. The physician, however, arrives, and proceeds at once to inquire into the *physical causes* which may have disordered the patient's organization; he hears of wet feet, exposure to cold air, checked perspiration, excessive fatigue, or some similar influence, and he instantly prescribes *physical remedies*, and is often successful in removing the disorder. In all this proceeding, the common sense of the patient and physician leads them to practice the very doctrine which I am expounding. They view the suffering as the direct consequence of the departure of some of the bodily organs from their healthy course of action, and they proceed to restore that state.

I am furnished with a new and striking illustration of the difference of practical result between the one

and the other of these views of the divine administration of the world. When the cholera approached Edinburgh, a board of health was instituted under the guidance of *physicians*. *They* regarded the cholera simply as a *disease*, and they viewed disease as the result of disordered bodily functions. They, therefore, urged cleanliness, provided nourishing food for the poor, and hospitals and medicine for the infected.—Religious men prayed for a blessing on the use of these means, and they were, on the whole, surprisingly successful. Rome is at this moment threatened with the approach of cholera; but the Pope and his Cardinals are pleased to view it not as a disease, but as a religious dispensation; and what means do *they* use to prevent its approach? A friend in Rome, in a letter dated November 5th, 1835, writes thus:—"A black image of the virgin has lately been carried through the city by the Pope and *all* the Cardinals, for the express purpose of averting the cholera." "So you see we are in a hopeful way, if it should assail us." Every reflecting mind must see the superiority of the precautions used in the city of Edinburgh, over those practised in Rome; yet the opinion that disease is the consequence of disordered bodily functions; and that the action of these functions is regulated by laws peculiar to themselves, and distinct from the moral and religious laws; lies at the bottom of these different courses of action. My aim, you will perceive, is to bring our philosophy and our religious notions into harmony, and to render our practice consistent with both.

The third great class of natural laws comprehends the moral, religious, and intellectual. These laws are founded in the constitution of our mental faculties and their relations. In the works on Phrenology, the faculties are divided into three great classes, Animal

Propensities, Moral Sentiments, and Intellectual Powers; and the primitive functions, the spheres of activity, and the uses and abuses of each are described, so far as these are ascertained. The idea which I wish now to express, is, that each of these faculties has objects beneficial to man related to it, with which it desires to become conversant, and that there are laws regulating its action in attaining them;—that the faculties are so far independent of each other, that we may pursue the objects of one or more of them, and omit the objects of the others; that the results of the action of the faculties are fixed and certain; and that by knowing the primitive functions,—the objects and laws of our faculties,—we may anticipate, with surprising accuracy, the general issue of any course of action which we may systematically pursue. Farther—that when we have acted in conformity with the dictates of the moral sentiments and enlightened intellect, which are the ruling powers in our mental constitution, we shall find the issue pleasing and beneficial, and when we act in opposition to their dictates, we shall reap sorrow and disappointment.

I shall illustrate these principles by examples. The propensity of Acquisitiveness desires blindly to acquire property, and this is its primitive function. If it act independently of intellect, as it does in idiots, and sometimes in children, it will lead to acquiring and accumulating things of no utility. If it be directed by enlightened intellect, it will desire to store up articles of real value. But it may act, either with or without the additional guidance of the moral sentiments. When it acts *without* that direction, it prompts the individual to appropriate to himself things of value, regardless of justice, and the rights of others. When acting in subordination to the moral sentiments, it leads to acquiring property by means just and lawful.

Here, then, there are three directions which the acquisitive propensity may follow; but there are still a fourth, and a fifth. It may act under the guidance of the moral sentiments, so far as never to invade the rights of others, and yet its action may terminate in its own gratification, without any fixed, ulterior object. Thus, when a talented merchant carries on a great extent of commercial dealings, and acquires thousands upon thousands of pounds, all in an honorable way, he may spend a long life in this mere process of acquisition, without having ever contemplated any good, or noble end to be accomplished by means of his gains. Or fifthly, an individual may be animated by the desire to confer some substantial enjoyment on his family, his relatives, his country, or mankind, and perceiving that he cannot do so without wealth, he may employ his acquisitiveness, under the guidance of intellect and moral sentiment, to acquire property for the sole purpose of fulfilling this object.

According to my perceptions of the divine government, there are specific results attached by the Creator to each of these modes of action of the propensity, which results occur in virtue of the laws under which he has appointed the faculties to act. For example—When the propensity acts without intellect, the result, as I have said, is the accumulation of worthless trash. We see this occur occasionally in adult persons, who are not idiots in other matters, but who, under a blind Acquisitiveness, buy old books, old furniture, or any other object of which they can obtain *a bargain*. I knew an individual who, under this impulse, bought, at a sale of old military stores, a lot of worn out drums. They were set up at sixpence each, and looked so large to the eye for the money, that he could not resist bidding for them. He had

no use for them, they were unsaleable, and they were so bulky, that it was expensive to store them. He was, therefore, under the necessity of bestowing them on the boys in the neighborhood; who speedily made the whole district resound with unmelodious noises. In these instances, as no law of morality is infringed, the punishment is simply the loss of the price paid.—When the propensity acts independently of justice, and steals,—the moral faculties of impartial spectators are offended, and prompt them to use speedy measures to restrain and punish the thief. When Acquisitiveness acts in conformity with intellect and justice, but with no higher aim than its own gratification, the result is success in accumulating wealth, but the absence of satisfactory enjoyment of it. The individual feels his life vanity and vexation of spirit, because, after he has become rich, he discovers himself to be without either object or possession calculated to gratify his moral and religious feelings, which must be satisfied before full happiness can be experienced. This is the direct result of the constitution of the mind; for, as we possess moral faculties, moral objects alone can satisfy *them;* and mere wealth is not such an object. When the aim of life is to communicate enjoyment to other beings, such as a family, relatives, or our fellow citizens, and when Acquisitiveness is employed under the guidance of moral sentiment and intellect, for the purpose of accomplishing that end, success will generally be obtained, and satisfaction will also be felt in success; because, through the whole course of life, the highest powers pursued a noble and dignified object, fitted for their gratification, and they employed Acquisitiveness in its proper and subordinate capacity as their ministering servant.

I have mentioned that every faculty has a legitimate sphere of activity, and that happiness and duty

consist in the proper application of them all. If we add to this, the principle, that we cannot attain the rewards or advantages attached to the proper employment of any faculty, if we omit to use it, we shall have another example illustrative of the order of the moral government of the world. For instance, as providence has rendered property essential to our existence and welfare, and given us a faculty prompting us to acquire it; if any individual born without fortune, shall neglect to exercise Acquisitiveness, and abandon himself, as his leading occupation, to the gratification of Benevolence and Veneration, in gratuitously managing public hospitals, in directing charity schools, or in preaching to the poor, he will suffer evil consequences. He must live on charity, or become poor, and starve. Observe, also, that in pursuing such a course of action, he neglects justice as a regulating motive; for if he had listened to Conscientiousness, it would have dictated to him the necessity of either making these pursuits his profession, and acting for hire, or of practising another profession, and following *them* only in intervals of leisure. St. Paul, in similar circumstances, wrought with his hands, and made tents, that he might be burdensome to no one.—The practical idea which I wish to fix in your minds by this example, is this: that if we pursue objects related exclusively to Benevolence and Veneration, although we may obtain *them*, we shall not thereby attain objects related to Acquisitiveness; and yet, that the world is so arranged, that we must attend to the objects of all our faculties before we can fully discharge our duties, or be happy.

Not only so, but there are *modes* appointed in nature by which the objects of our different faculties may be attained; by pursuing which, we are rewarded with success, and by neglecting which, we are punished

with failure. The object of Acquisitiveness, for example, is to acquire things of use. But these cannot be reared from the ground, nor constructed by the hand, nor imported in exchange for other commodities from abroad, without a great expenditure of time, labor, and skill. Their *value* indeed is in general measured by the time, labor, and skill, required for their production. The great law, then, which God has prescribed to govern Acquisitiveness, and by observing which he promises it success, is, that we shall practise patient, laborious, and skilful exertion, in endeavoring to attain its objects. "The hand of the diligent maketh rich," is the law of nature. When, however, men, losing sight of this divine law, resort to gaming and speculation, to thieving, cheating, and plundering, to acquire property; when "they *hasten* to become rich," they fall into a snare." Ruin is the natural result of such conduct; because according to nature, wealth can be produced only by labor; and although one acute, or strong, or powerful man might acquire wealth by cheating or plundering twenty or thirty honest and industrious citizens, yet as a general rule, their combined sagacity and strength would, in the long run, defeat and punish him; while, if all, or even the majority of men, procured wealth by mere speculation, stealing, and swindling, there would speedily be no wealth for them to acquire.

The scripture authoritatively declares, that "Thou shalt not steal;" but when a man with a strong Acquisitiveness, and defective Conscientiousness, enters into a great mercantile community, in which he sees vast masses of property, daily changing hands, he often does not perceive the force of the prohibition: on the contrary, he thinks that he may, with manifest advantage, speculate, lie, cheat, swindle, perhaps steal, as a more speedy and effectual means of acquir-

ing a share of that wealth, than by practising laborious industry. Nevertheless, this must be a delusion; because, although God does not state the *reason* why he prohibits stealing, it is certain, that he must have had a reason replete with wisdom. He leaves it to human sagacity to discover *the philosophy of the precept;* and it is the duty of the christian teacher, and moral philosopher, to unfold to the understandings of the young, *why* it is *disadvantageous*, as well as unlawful, to break the commandments of the living God. If I merely desire a child not to cross a certain path, it will have curiosity on the one hand, struggling against filial devotion on the other. If I lead it to the path, and show to it a mighty gulf, which would swallow it up, curiosity is satisfied, and a sense of its own danger operates in aid of the parental injunction. Obedience is thereby rendered easier, and more practicable. Thus it is also with moral duties. Whenever the *philosophy* of the practical precepts of the New Testament shall be studied and taught, in schools, in the domestic circle, and from the pulpit, the whole weight and power of the understanding will be added to the authority of the scripture in enforcing them, and men will be induced by a clear perception of their own *interest* in this world, as well as by their hopes and fears in the next, to yield obedience to the laws of their Creator. What a glorious theme will such a philosophy afford to a powerful and enlightened mind for the instruction of the people!

Similar observations might be made in regard to the *laws* prescribed by nature for the regulation of all our faculties in the pursuit of their objects; but your time does not permit me to offer more than the preceding illustration.

If we look at the living world only in the mass, without knowing the distinct existence of the mental fac-

alties; their distinct objects; and their distinct laws; the results of their activity appear to be enveloped in sad confusion: We see some *moral and religious men* struggling with *poverty*, and *others prosperous* in their outward circumstances;—some *rich men* extremely *unhappy*, while others are apparently highly contented;—some poor men joyous and gay, others miserable and repining;—some irreligious men are seen in possession of vast wealth, while other irreligious men are destitute of even the necessaries of life. In short, the moral world appears to be one great chaos,—a scene full of confusion, intricacy and contradiction. But if we become acquainted with the primitive faculties, and their objects, and laws, and learn that different individuals possess them from nature in different degrees, and also cultivate them with different degrees of assiduity; and that the consequences of our actions bear an established relation to the faculties employed, the mystery clears up. The religious and rich man, is he who exercises both Veneration and Acquisitiveness according to the laws of their constitution; the religious and poor man, is he who exercises Veneration, but who, through deficiency of the organ, through ignorance, through indolence, or some other cause, does not exercise Acquisitiveness at all, or not according to the laws by which its success is regulated. The rich man who is happy, is one who follows high pursuits related to his intellect and moral sentiments, as the grand objects of life, and makes Acquisitiveness play its proper, but subordinate part. The rich man who is unhappy, is he who, having received from a bountiful Creator moral and intellectual faculties, has never cultivated them, but employed them merely to guide his Acquisitiveness; the gratification of which he has made the leading object of his life. After he has attained that object, his moral sentiments

and intellect being left unprovided with objects, feel a craving discontent, which constitutes his unhappiness.

I could proceed through the whole list of the faculties and their combinations, in a similar way; but it is unnecessary to do so, as these illustrations will, I hope, enable you to perceive the principle which I am anxious to expound.

Let us now take a brief and comprehensive survey of the point at which we have arrived.

If we are told that a certain person is extremely pious, benevolent, and just, we are entitled to conclude that he will certainly experience within himself great peace, joy, and comfort, from his own dispositions, because these enjoyments flow directly from the activity of the organs which manifest piety, justice and beneficence: We are entitled farther to believe, that he will be esteemed and beloved by all truly good men who know him thoroughly, and that they will be disposed to promote, by every legitimate means, his welfare and happiness; because his mental qualities naturally excite into activity corresponding faculties in other men, and create a sympathetic interest on their part in his enjoyment: But if we hear that this good man has been upset in a coach and has broken his leg, we conclude that this event has arisen solely from neglect of a physical law, which being independent of the moral law, acted without direct relation to his mental qualities. If we hear that he is sick, we conclude that some organ of his body has departed from the laws which regulate its healthy activity, and that these laws being also distinct, the sickness has no direct relation to his moral condition. If we are told that he is healthy and happy, we infer that his organic system is now acting in accordance with the laws of its constitution. If we are told that he has been afflicted by the loss of a fine, intelligent and amiable son, in the

bloom of youth; we conclude that the boy has either inherited a feeble constitution from his parents, or that the treatment of his bodily system, in infancy and youth, has been, in some way or other, at variance with the organic laws, and that his death has been the consequence, which was not averted by his father's piety.

If, on the other hand, we know a man who is palpably cold-hearted, grasping and selfish, we are authorized to conclude—First, that he is deprived of that delicious sunshine of the soul and all those thrilling sympathies with whatever is noble, beautiful and holy, which attend the vivacious action of the moral and religious faculties: Second, that he is deprived of the reflected influence of the same emotions from the hearts and countenances of the good men around him.

These are the direct punishments in this world, for his not exercising his moral and religious powers.—But, if he have inherited a fine constitution, or if he be temperate, sober, and take regular exercise, he may reap the blessing of high health; and if he do so, he must be regarded as enjoying *it* as the reward of his compliance with the organic laws. There is no inconsistency in this enjoyment being permitted to him, because the moral and organic laws are distinct, and he has obeyed the laws which reward him. If his children have received from him a sound frame, and have been treated prudently and skilfully, they also will live in health; but this, again, is the consequence of obedience to the same laws. If they have inherited feeble constitutions, or if their management have been at variance with these laws, they will die, just as the children of good men in similar circumstances will do. If the selfish man pursue wealth according to the laws that regulate its acquisition, he will, by that obedi-

ence, become rich; but if he neglect to exercise Acquisitiveness, or infringe these laws, he will become poor; just as the good man would do in similar circumstances. It appears to me, that in these arrangements we see the dictates of our moral and intellectual faculties clearly supported by the order of external nature, and hence we obtain evidence of an actual moral government going on in full force and activity in this world.

In short, according to this view of the divine government, instead of there being confusion, and a lack of justice, in the administration of this world, there is exactly the reverse—there is a reward for every species of obedience, and a punishment for every species of disobedience,—and in order to preserve our minds habitually under the impression of discipline, all our duties are arranged under heads corresponding to the different parts of our constitution; rewards and chastisements are annexed to each of them; and so little of favoritism or partiality is shown, that although we obey all the natural laws but one, we do not escape the punishment of infringing that single law; or although we break them all but one, we are not denied the reward of that solitary instance of obedience. But you will perceive, that before you can comprehend this system of government, you must study and become acquainted with the objects in nature, by the action of which it takes place, whether these be external, or consist of our own bodies and minds. If mankind have hitherto lived without this knowledge, can you wonder that the ways of Providence have appeared dark and contradictory? and if by means of Phrenology we have now discovered the true constitution of the mind, and its relationship to our bodies and external nature; if, moreover, physical

science has largely opened up to us the constitution and laws of the objects by which we are surrounded and affected,—need we feel surprise that the dawn of a new philosophy begins to break forth upon our vision,—a philosophy more consistent, more practical, and more consolatory, than any that has hitherto appeared?

LECTURE III.

ADVANTAGES OF A KNOWLEDGE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALS: DUTIES PRESCRIBED TO MAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL: SELF CULTURE.

Having in the previous lectures considered what constitutes an action right or wrong, and also the punishments which invariably attend neglect of duty, and the rewards which performance never fails to bring along with it, I proceed to remark that these views essentially correspond with those entertained by Bishop Butler, and which he has adopted as the groundwork of his treatise on the "Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion." "Now," says he, "in the present state, all which we enjoy, *and* A GREAT PART OF WHAT WE SUFFER, *is put in our power.* For *pleasure and pain are the consequences of our actions;* and we are endued by the Author of our nature with capacities of foreseeing these consequences." "I know not that we have any one kind or degree of enjoyment, but by the means of our own actions. And *by prudence and care,* we may, for the most part, pass our days in tolerable ease and quiet; or, on the contrary, we may, *by rashness, ungoverned passion, wilfulness,* or *even by negligence,* make ourselves *as miserable as ever we please.* And many do please to make themselves extremely miserable; *i. e.* they do what they knew beforehand will render them so. They

follow those ways, the fruit of which they knew, by instruction, example, experience, will be disgrace, and poverty, and sickness, and untimely death. This every one observes to be the general course of things; though it is to be allowed, we cannot find by experience, that *all* our sufferings are owing to our own follies."

The common sense of mankind yields a ready assent to such a doctrine; and the point in which we go farther than Bishop Butler is in rendering the principles stated in this quotation more clear and tangible, by shewing the laws, or natural arrangements, by which the consequences mentioned by him take place. This is a point of material moment in philosophy, and it leads me to remark that the grand difference between the exposition of moral science which I am now attempting to give, and those which have been presented by preceding inquirers, consists in this—that hitherto, moralists have generally laid down precepts without shewing their foundation in principle, or the mode in which disregard of them is punished by the ordinary and natural operation of cause and effect. They failed in this last particular, because they were unacquainted with the constitution of the mind, and because the idea of the independent operation of the different natural laws, which I expounded in my last lecture, was either unknown to them, or the consequences unperceived. In their expositions of moral philosophy they resembled those who teach us to *practise* an art without explaining the scientific principles on which the practice is founded. It is my object to expound to you not only the practice, but the principle. The difference between Paley's moral philosophy, and that which I am now teaching, may be illustrated thus: A practical brewer is a man who has been taught to steep barley in cold water for a certain time,

to turn it on a stone floor for so many hours, to dry it on a kiln, at which point it is malt: to grind the malt, to mash it by pouring on it hot water, to boil the extract with hops, to cool it, to add yeast to it when cold, and to allow it to ferment for a certain number of days. A person of ordinary sagacity, who has seen these processes performed, will be able to repeat them, and he may thereby produce ale. But he may all the while know nothing whatever of the chemical agencies, and the laws of action, by means of which the changes intervening between the steeping of the barley and the production of the perfect ale have been evolved: He will soon discover, however, that sometimes he makes good ale and sometimes bad; he will observe that sometimes the fermentation of the worts goes on with too great rapidity, and sometimes too slowly; and he may by experience discover what he considers causes of these effects; but he will frequently find that he has been wrong in his judgment of the causes, and he will do harm by his remedies, instead of good. In short, he will know the rules how to make good ale, but he will find that the regular practice of them surpasses his skill; and the reason of his perplexity is this: The barley is organized matter, which undergoes a variety of changes, depending partly on its own constitution and partly on the temperature of the air, the quantity of moisture applied, the thickness of the heap in which it is laid, and other causes, of the precise nature and effects of which he is ignorant. Farther—the extract from the malt, which he wishes to ferment, is a very active and delicate agent, undergoing rapid changes influenced by temperature, electricity, and other causes, of the operation of all which also he knows nothing scientifically. If all the materials of his trade were passive, like stocks and stones, his practical rules might

carry him much farther towards uniform and successful results; but seeing that they are all agents, and that their modes of action are liable to be affected by a variety of external causes and combinations, he cannot securely rely on producing the effects which he wishes to attain, until he becomes *scientifically* acquainted with the *qualities* of his materials, and the modifying influences of all the agencies to the operation of which they are exposed. After attaining this knowledge, he becomes capable of modifying his practice to suit the precise circumstances in which, at each particular time, he finds his materials placed.

These observations are applicable to the subject of moral philosophy. In practical life we are ourselves active beings, and we are constantly influenced by agents, whose original powers, tendencies, and capacities differ from each other, who are placed in ever varying circumstances, and who are acted on and excited or impeded by other beings. It is a knowledge of principles alone, that can enable us to understand phenomena occurring under the diversified circumstances in which the Creator's laws are seen to operate. And, moreover, when the *principle* of a duty, or the *reason why* a particular line of conduct ought to be adopted, and the precise way in which reward and punishment are linked as natural consequences of performance and neglect are known, there is far higher probability of the duty being discharged than when a precept is our only motive to action. Mere rules may no doubt be apprehended and practised by superior minds; but to the ordinary understanding, ignorant of their foundations and sanctions in nature, their importance and authority are far from being so evident as to impress it with a deep sense of obligation.

A great musician can enable another, equally gifted, to *feel* the exquisite harmony of a certain compo-

sition; but he will strive in vain to convey the same perception of it to a person destitute of musical talent. By teaching the laws of harmony, however, to this individual, he may succeed in *convincing his understanding* that, in the piece in question, these are perfectly observed, and that there can be no good music without such observance.

Although the natural laws act separately and independently, in the manner pointed out in the immediately preceding lecture, certain relations have been established between them, which tend to support the authority and efficacy of the whole. In consequence of these relations, obedience to each law increases our ability to obey the others, and disobedience to one disables us to some extent from paying deference to the rest.

The man, for example, who obeys the *physical* laws, places himself in a favorable condition to observe the *organic*, the *moral*, and the *intellectual* laws. He is safe from personal injury, and he creates by his industry the elements of physical plenty, which are as important to the favorable action of his higher faculties, as air is to the lungs, or light to the eyes.

By obeying the *organic* laws, in favorable circumstances, he insures the possession of vigorous health; and when we view the muscular system of man as the instrument provided to him by the Creator for operating on physical nature, and the nerves and brain as the means of acting on all sentient and intelligent beings, we discover that organic health is a fundamental requisite of all usefulness and enjoyment. We are led to see that the possession of it contributes in the highest degree to our obeying the physical laws, and also to our discharging our active duties, in other words, to our obeying the laws of morality and intellect. General obedience

to the organic laws, also, by preserving the body in a favorable condition of health, fits it for recovering in the best manner, from the effects of injuries sustained by inadvertent infringement of the physical laws.—Disobedience to the organic laws, on the other hand, unfits us for obeying the other laws of our being. A student, for instance, who impairs his brain and digestive organs by excessive mental application and neglect of exercise, weakens his nerves and muscular system, in consequence of which he becomes feeble, and thereby incapable of sustaining bodily action, in other words, of coping with the law of gravitation, without pain and fatigue. He becomes, also, more liable to disease. A man who breaks the organic laws by committing a debauch, becomes incapable for a season, of intellectual application.

By obeying the moral and *intellectual* laws, that is, by exercising our whole mental faculties, according to the laws of their constitution, and directing them to their proper objects, we enjoy not only the direct pleasure which attends the favorable action and gratification of all our powers, but we become more capable of coping with the physical influences which are constantly operating around us, and of bending them in subserviency to our interest and our will; and also of preserving all our organic functions in a state of regulated vigor and activity.

In short, if we obey the various laws instituted by the Creator, we find that they act harmoniously for our welfare, that they support each other, and that the world becomes a clear field for the active and pleasurable exercise of all our powers. While, if we infringe one, it not only punishes us for the special act of disobedience, but the offence has the tendency to impair our power of obeying the others; so that we discover in the natural laws a system of independent,

yet combined and harmonious action, admirably adapted to the mind of a being who has received not only observing faculties, fitted to study mere existences and their phenomena, but reflecting intellect, calculated to comprehend their relations, adaptations, and reciprocal influences.

Thus, the first grand step in comprehending the principles of the divine government, is to learn to look on the world as it actually exists, and not through the medium of a perverted imagination, or of erroneous assumptions; and the second is to compare it with the constitution of man, physical, and mental, as designedly adapted to it. We shall, certainly, not find that it is an elysium, and we know that we are not angels; but we shall discover, that while the heavens proclaim the glory of the Creator, and the revolving firmaments of suns and worlds tell forth his might, the elements and powers of man's mind and body, viewed in their tendencies and adaptations, bespeak in a language equally clear and emphatic, his intelligence, beneficence, and justice.

Having thus expounded the general system of the divine government,—let us now consider the duties prescribed to us by our constitution and its relations.

THE DUTIES PRESCRIBED TO MAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL.

Descending to *particular duties*, we may first consider those prescribed to man *as an individual*, by his own constitution and that of the external creation.

The constitution of man seems to shew that the object of his existence on earth is to enjoy his being, and to prepare for a higher sphere of life hereafter; its indications thus essentially agreeing with the Assembly's Catechism, which represents the chief end of man to

be "to glorify God, and to enjoy him for ever." By the glorification of God, however, we understand not only obedience to his *revealed* will, but also the study and observance of his laws *written in the book of nature*—laws which, when obeyed, lead to virtue and happiness,—when infringed, to vice and misery.—Obedience to the Divine laws—or, what is the same thing, performance of our duties—is the prime requisite; then comes enjoyment; and the glory of God shines forth as the result of these two combined. His wisdom and power are strikingly conspicuous, when we discover a system, apparently complicated, to be, in fact, simple, clear, beautiful, and beneficent: and when we behold his rational creatures comprehending his will, acting in harmony with it, reaping all the enjoyments which his goodness intended for them, and ascending in the scale of being by the cultivation and improvement of their nobler powers, the glory of God strikes every intelligent mind as surpassingly great. A deep conviction then arises, that the only means by which we can aspire to advance that glory, is to promote, where possible, the fulfilment of the Creator's beneficent designs, and sedulously to co-operate in the execution of his plans. When the object of human existence is regarded in this light, it becomes evident that obedience to every natural law is a positive *duty* imposed on us by the Creator, and that infringement or neglect of it is a positive *sin* or transgression against his will. Hence, we do not promote the glory of God by singing his praises, offering up prayers at his throne, and performing other devotional duties, if, at the same time, by neglecting the physical, organic, and moral laws, we act in direct contradiction to his plan of government, and present ourselves before him as spectacles of pain and misfortune, suffering the punishment of our infringements of his institutions,

instead of reaping enjoyment by obedience, as he intended that we should do. Every law of God, however proclaimed to us—whether made known in his word or in his works—has an equal claim to observance; and as religion consists in revering God, and obeying his will, it thus appears that the discharge of our daily secular duties is literally the fulfilment of *an essential part of our religious obligations.*

It is only by presenting before the Creator our bodies in as complete a condition of health and vigor, our minds as thoroughly disciplined to virtue, and as replete with knowledge, and in consequence our whole being as full of enjoyment, as our constitution will admit of,—that we can really show forth his goodness and glory.

If these ideas be founded in nature, the first duty of man as an individual is obviously to acquire knowledge of himself and of God's laws, in whatever record these are contained. I infer this to be a duty, because I perceive intellectual powers bestowed on him, obviously intended for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, and not only a wide range of action permitted to all his powers, corporeal and mental, with pleasure annexed to the use, and pain to the abuse of them; but also a vast liability to suffer by the influence of the objects and beings around him, unless, by means of knowledge, he accommodate his conduct to their qualities and action. And while he is thus circumstanced, he has received few instinctive directions for the guidance of his actions; so that he has only the alternative presented to him to use his reason, or to endure evil.

It has too rarely been inculcated that the gaining of knowledge is a *moral* duty; and yet if our constitution be so framed that we cannot securely enjoy life, and discharge our duties as parents, and members of

society without it; and if a capacity for acquiring it has been bestowed on us, it is obviously commanded by the Creator, as a duty of the highest moment. The kind of knowledge which we are bound to acquire is clearly that of God's will and laws, whether written in the scriptures, or in the great book of creation. It is the office of divines to instruct you in the duties contained in the sacred volume; and I confine myself to the department of nature.

The ignorant man suffers many inconveniences and distresses to which he submits as inevitable dispensations of Providence: his own health perhaps fails him; his children are perverse and disobedient; his trade is unsuccessful; and he regards all these as visitations from God, as examples of the chequered lot of man on earth. If he be religious, he prays for a spirit of resignation, and directs his hopes to heaven: but if the view of the divine administration of the world to which I have adverted be sound, he ought to ascribe his sufferings, in great part, to his own ignorance of the scheme of creation, and to his non-compliance with its obvious dictates. In addition to his religious duties, he ought therefore, to fulfil the natural conditions appointed by the Creator as antecedents to happiness, and then he may expect a blessing on his exertions, and on his life.

Important, however, as the knowledge of nature thus appears to be, it is surprising how recently the efficient study of it has begun. It is not more than three centuries since the very dawn of philosophy; and some of the greatest scientific discoveries have been made within the last fifty or sixty years. These facts tell us plainly that the race of man, like the individual, is progressive; that it has its infancy and youth; and that we who now exist, live only in the day-spring of intelligence. In Europe and America, the race may

be viewed as putting forth the first blossoms of its rational nature; while the greater part of the world lies in utter darkness. And even in Europe, it is only the more gifted minds who see and appreciate their true position. These, from the Pisgah of knowledge, gaze upon the promised land of virtue and happiness stretched out before their intellectual eye; distant, indeed, but not inaccessible—and sufficiently near to permit them to descry, however faintly, its beauty and luxuriance.

If the study of nature and nature's laws be our first duty as rational and accountable beings, a moment's reflection will satisfy you that the instruction hitherto generally given to the young of the higher ranks, has been preposterous and unavailing for purposes of practical utility. If a boy be taught the structure, uses, and laws of health of the lungs, he will be presented with motives, when he becomes a man, for avoiding sudden transitions of temperature, excessive bodily and mental exertion, and sleeping in ill ventilated rooms; and on the other hand, for supporting every measure for improving the purity of the air in his native city, for rendering churches, theatres, lecture rooms, and all places of public resort, more accordant with the laws of the human constitution in regard to temperature and ventilation; in short, this knowledge will enable him to avoid much evil and to accomplish much practical good. If he do not acquire it, he will be exposed, in consequence of his ignorance, to suffer from many of these external influences operating unknown to himself, and injuriously both on his mind and body. If, on the other hand, he be taught that Romulus and Remus were suckled by a she-wolf; that Æneas was the son of Venus, who was the goddess of love; that in Tartarus were three Furies, called Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megæra, who sent wars and pesti-

lence through the earth, and punished the wicked after death with whips of scorpions; that Jupiter was the son of Saturn, and the chief among all the gods; that he dwelt on Mount Olympus, and employed one-eyed giants called Cyclops, whose workshop is in the heart of Mount Ætna, to forge thunderbolts, which he threw down on the world when he was angry—the youth learns mere poetical fancies, often abundantly ridiculous and absurd, which lead to no practical conduct. As all the personages of the heathen mythology existed only in the fancies of poets and sculptors, they are not entities or agents; and do not operate in any shape whatever on human enjoyment: The boy who has never dedicated his days and nights to the study of them, does not suffer punishment for his neglect; which he infallibly does, for his ignorance of nature. Neither is he rewarded for acquiring such knowledge, as he is by becoming acquainted with nature, which always enables him to do something that otherwise he could not have done, to reap an enjoyment which otherwise he should have wanted; or to avoid an evil which otherwise would have overtaken him. Jupiter throws no bolts on those who neglect the history of his amours and of his war with the Giants; the Furies do not scourge us for being ignorant that according to some writers they sprang from the drops of blood which issued from a wound inflicted by Saturn upon his father Cœlus, and that according to others, they were the daughters of Pluto and Proserpine; and the she-wolf does not bite us, although we are not aware that she suckled the founders of Rome—or, to speak more correctly, that credulous and foolish historians have said so. But if we neglect the study of God's laws, evil and misery most certainly ensue.

These observations, however, are not to be under-

stood as an unqualified denunciation of classical learning. The sentiment of ideality finds gratification in poetic fictions; but it is absurd to cultivate it and the faculty of language to the exclusion of others not less important; and besides, it must be kept in view, that in the pages of the Book of Nature, even more than in those of *Homer*, *Virgil* and *Ovid*, ample materials are to be found for the cultivation and gratification of a refined taste.

In the past ages of the world, no systematic instruction in nature, her laws, and her rewards and punishments, has been bestowed on the people at large: nay, even the best educated classes have been left destitute of this knowledge. They have been instructed in classical literature, composed chiefly of elegant and ingenious fables, and the people have been taught to read and write, and left at that point to grope their way to knowledge without teachers, without books, and without encouragement or countenance from their superiors. In no country have the occupations of society, and the plan of life of individuals, been deliberately adopted in just appreciation of the order of nature. We ought, therefore, in reason, to feel no surprise that the very complex mechanism of our individual constitution, and the still more complicated relations of our social condition, frequently move harshly, and sometimes become deranged. It would have been miraculous indeed, if a being deliberately framed to become happy only in proportion to his knowledge and morality, had found himself in possession of all the comforts and enjoyments of which his nature when cultivated is capable, while he is yet in profound ignorance of himself, of the world, and of their mutual adaptations.

As *individuals*, our sphere of intellectual vision is so limited, that we have great difficulty in discovering

the indispensable necessity of knowledge to the discharge of our duties and the promotion of our happiness. We are too apt to believe that our lot is fixed and circumscribed, so that we can do almost nothing to change and improve our general condition. We feel as if we were overruled by a destiny too strong for our limited powers to cope with: And, as if to give strength and permanence to this impression, the man of the world asks us what benefit would scientific information confer on the laborer, whose duty consists in digging ditches, in breaking stones, or in carrying loads, all day long; and when the day is done, whose only remaining occupation is to eat, sleep, and propagate his kind? Or of what use is information concerning nature's laws to the shop-keeper, whose only duty in life is to manage his small trade, to pay his bills punctually when due, and to collect sharply his outstanding debts? If these were *all* the duties of the laborer, and of the shop-keeper, the man of the world would be right. But we discover in the individuals who have these duties allotted to them, faculties capable of far higher functions, and we say that nature points out the necessity of cultivating them. The answer which we make to this argument is, that the scheme of life of the day laborer and of the shop-keeper, as now cast, is far short of the perfection which it is capable of reaching, and which it was evidently designed by the Creator to attain. It does not afford scope for the exercise of their noblest and best gifts, and it does not favor their steady advance in the scale of moral, religious, and intellectual existence.

The argument here stated, assumes that these classes have already attained the limits of their possible improvement; and if the case were so, the conclusion might be sound, that science will be useless to them;

but if they be at present far from enjoying the full sweets of existence; if their condition be capable of vast amelioration, without deranging the order of social life; and if the knowledge of themselves and of nature be a means of producing these advantages; then the duty of acquiring knowledge is at once fundamental and paramount;—it lies at the foundation of all improvement.

I am anxious to press this idea earnestly on your consideration, because it appears to me to constitute the grand difference between the old and the new philosophy. The characteristic feature of the old philosophy, founded, not on knowledge of man's nature but of his political history, is, that Providence intended different lots for men, (a point in which the new philosophy agrees,) and that in the divine appointment of conditions, the millions, or vast masses of the people, were destined to act the part only of industrious ministers to the physical wants of society, while the favored few were meant to be the sole recipients of knowledge and refinement. In accordance with this principle, it is regarded not only as utopian, but as actually baneful and injurious to the happiness of the industrious classes themselves, to open up high and comprehensive views of their own mental capabilities, and those of external nature to their minds, because it is said that such ideas render them discontented with their condition, while the arrangements of the Creator have placed impassable barriers in the way of their ever advancing beyond it. According to the old philosophy, therefore, it is not a duty imposed on every individual, to cultivate his moral powers by extending his acquaintance with nature. On the contrary, a laboring man fulfils his part completely when he acquires a knowledge of his moral and religious duties from the Bible, becomes master of his trade,

and quietly and soberly practises the duties of his station, unmoved by ambition and unenlightened by science, till death consigns him to the grave. According to this philosophy, human nature is now stationary, or at least its advances are conducted exclusively by the higher classes; or by Providence, in ways incomprehensible to us, and which need none of our assistance; and so far as our influence is concerned, we ought to regard it as having already reached the summit level of improvement, and our greatest interest should be to prevent its flowing back into turbulence and vice.

The new philosophy, on the other hand, or that which is founded on knowledge of man's nature, admits the allotment of distinct conditions to different men, because it recognizes evident differences in their mental and bodily endowments; but in surveying their faculties it discovers that all of them possess, in a greater or less degree, powers of observation and reflection calculated to observe and study nature; sentiments of Ideality prompting them to desire refinement and to long for perfect institutions; the feeling of Benevolence desiring universal happiness; the sentiment of Conscientiousness rejoicing in justice; and emotions of Hope, Veneration and Wonder causing the glow of religious devotion to spring up in their souls, and their whole being to desire acquaintanceship with a God whom they may love, worship and obey; and it proclaims, that beings so gifted were not destined to exist as mere animated machinery, liable to be superseded at every stage of their lives by the steam engine, the pulley or the lever; but were clearly intended to advance in their mental attainments, and to rise higher and higher in the scale of rational existence. This conclusion is rendered absolutely irresistible, if the general idea of the divine administra-

tion of the world communicated in my last lecture be sound, that which regards all nature as proceeding under fixed, independent, but harmonious laws. Under such a system, the Creator speaks forth from every element of nature, and proclaims his will to every human being, that he must acquire knowledge or suffer evil. We may rest assured that the fulfilment of every necessary duty is compatible with enlarged mental cultivation in all the race; because the Creator has not bestowed capacities and desires on his creatures which their inevitable condition renders it impossible for them to cultivate and gratify. There are humbler minds fitted to perform the humbler duties of life, and no cultivation, of which they are capable, will carry them beyond them. But in a thoroughly moral and enlightened community, no useful office will be degrading; nor will any be incompatible with the due exercise of the highest faculties of man. It is delightful to perceive that these views are gaining ground, and are daily more and more advocated by the press. I recommend to your perusal a work just published,* entitled "My Old House, or the Doctrine of Changes," in which they are ably and eloquently enforced. "The great error of mankind," says the author, "on this subject, (the purposes of God in the administration of the world,) has at all times been, that feeling themselves, at least in the vast multitude of cases, to occupy, (by the ordination of Providence, or by what they commonly consider as their unfortunate lot in life,) but a very obscure and laborious station in the household, they are apt to think that it matters little with what spirit they advance to their toils—that they cannot be in a condition to give any appreciable advancement to the

* 28th Nov. 1835.

plans of the Master—and that at any rate, if they do not altogether desert their place, and permit it to run into disorder, they have done all that can well be expected from them, or that they are indeed in a condition to do, for the progressive good of the whole. Take, for instance, the condition of a person who, in the lowest and obscurest lot of life, is entrusted with the bringing up of a family—and how often do we hear from such persons the complaint, that all their cares are insufficient for the moment that is passing over their heads—and that, provided they can obtain the mere necessaries of life, they cannot be required to look to any higher purposes which may be obtained by their cares. And yet, what situation in life is in reality more capable of being conducted in the most efficient and productive manner, or more deserving the nicest and most conscientious care of those entrusted with it? For, are not the hearts and understandings of the young committed to the immediate care of those who chiefly and habitually occupy the important scenes of domestic life—and if they pay a due regard, not only to the temporal, but to the moral and intellectual interests of their charge—if they make home the seat of all the virtues which are so appropriately suited to it—if they set the example—an example which is almost never forgotten—of laborious worth struggling, it may be, through long years, and yet never disheartened in its toils—and if by these means they make their humble dwelling a scene of comfort, of moral training, and of both material and moral beauty, which attracts the eye and warms the hearts of all who witness it—how truly valuable is the part which such servants of the Master have been enabled to perform for the due regulation of all the parts of his household—and when their day of labor is done, and the cry goeth forth, 'call the laborers to their reward,' with what

placid confidence may they advance to receive the recompense of their toils—and be satisfied, as they prepare themselves for 'the rest that awaits them,' that though their lot in life has been humble and their toils obscure, they have yet not been unprofitable servants, and that the results of their labors shall yet be 'seen after many days.'" "The same style of thought may be applied to all the varied offices which human life, even in its lowest forms, and most unnoticed places, can be found to present—and when these varied conditions and duties of the 'humble poor' are *so* considered, it will be found that a new light seems to diffuse itself over the whole plan of the divine kingdom—and that no task which the Master of the household can assign to any of his servants, is left without inducements to its fulfilment, which may prepare the laborer for the most cheerful and delighted attention to his work." (p. 84.)* How important is *knowledge* to the due fulfilment of the humble, yet respectable duties here so beautifully described.

I conclude this lecture by observing that the duty of acquiring knowledge implies *that* also, of communicating it to others when attained; and there is no form in which the humblest individual may do more good, or assist more effectually in carrying forward the improvement and happiness of mankind, than in teaching them truth and its applications. I feel that I lie under a moral obligation to communicate to you,

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*The reputed author of these sentiments is a clergyman of the established Church of Scotland, and in May, 1839, the General Assembly of that Church appointed a Committee of their number to inquire into the nature of his works, and report whether he should not be prosecuted for heresy! This is one, among a thousand instances, of the evils of an established Church. Its position is immoveable; and as it cannot advance with the stream of knowledge, it forms itself into a great barrier, to obstruct the current of human improvement.

(who by your attendance here, testify your desire of instruction,) all the knowledge concerning the natural laws of the Creator, which my own mind has been permitted to discover. I learn that other instructors of the people have considered it to be *their* duty to denounce as *dangerous*, the knowledge which is here communicated, and to warn you against it.* But I am not moved by such vituperations. What I teach you, I believe to be truth inscribed by the hand of God in the book of nature; and I have never been able to understand what is meant by a *dangerous truth*. All natural truth is simply knowledge of what the Creator has instituted and done; and it savors of impiety, and not of reverence, to stigmatise it as injurious. The very opposite is the fact. Lord Bacon has truly said, that "there are, besides the authority of Scripture, two reasons of exceeding great weight and force, why religion should dearly protect all increase of natural knowledge: the one, because it leads to the greater exaltation of the glory of God; for, as the Psalms and other scriptures do often invite us to consider and to magnify the great and wonderful works of God, so, if we should rest only in the contemplation of those which first offer themselves to our senses, we should do a like injury to the majesty of God, as if we should judge of the store of some excellent jeweller, by that only which is set out to the street in his shop. The other reason is, because it is a singular help, and a preservative against unbelief and error: For, says our Saviour, ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God; laying before us two books or volumes to study, if we will be secured from error—first, the Scriptures, revealing the will of

* These Lectures excited so much attention in Edinburgh, that more than one of the clergy of the established Church, preached sermons against them.

God; and then the creatures, expressing his power." We have seen, however, that not the *power* of God only, but also his *will*, is expressed in the constitution of "the creatures;" and hence a double reason becomes manifest why it is our duty to study them. It would seem, therefore, that the instructors alluded to, have assumed that it is not truth, but error, which is inculcated in this place. If they had pronounced such an opinion after inquiry, and for reasons stated, I should have been ready to pause and reconsider my opinions; but they have condemned us unheard and untried—assuming boldly that because we teach ideas different from their own individual notions—in advance of them it may be—we are necessarily in error. This assumption, however, indicates merely that our accusers have not arrived at the same perceptions of the Divine Government with ourselves—a result that will by no means be wondered at by any one who considers that they have not followed the course of inquiry pursued by us. There *is*, however, *some* reason for surprise, that their opinions—(many of which are the emanations of a dark age, wherein the knowledge of nature did not exist, and which they are prohibited from changing, under pain of forfeiting their livings, even although they should see them to be erroneous,) should be advanced as superior to, and exclusive of those of other men, adopted after patient observation and thought.

I advance no proposition here, for your acceptance, based on the authority of my own discernment alone; but submit all to your scrutiny and judgment. I enable you, as far as in me lies, to detect all the errors into which I may inadvertently fall, and ask you to embrace only the ideas which seem to be amply supported by evidence and reason. We are told by a great authority, to judge of all things by their fruits;

and, by this test, I leave the doctrines of this philosophy to stand or fall. What are the effects of them on your minds? Do you feel your conceptions of the Deity circumscribed or debased by the views which I have presented—or, on the contrary, purified and exalted? In the simplicity, adaptations, and harmony of Nature's laws, do you not recognize a positive and tangible proof of the omniscience and omnipotence of the Creator—a solemn and impressive lesson, that in every moment of our existence, we live, and move, and have our being, supported by his power, rewarded by his goodness, and restrained by his justice and mercy? Does not this sublime idea of the continual presence of God now cease to be a vague, and therefore a cold and barren conception; and does it not, through the medium of the natural laws, become a deep-felt, encouraging, and controlling reality? Do your understandings revolt from such a view of creation, as ill-adapted to a moral, religious, and intelligent being? or do they ardently embrace it, and leap with joy at light evolving itself out of the moral chaos, and exhibiting order and beauty, authority and rule, in a vast domain where previously there was great darkness, perplexity, and doubt? Do you feel your own nature debased by viewing every faculty as calculated for virtue, yet so extensive in its range, that it has a sphere of action even beyond virtue, in the wild regions of vice, when it moves blindly and without control? Or do you perceive in this constitution a glorious liberty—yet the liberty only of moral beings, happy when they follow virtue, and miserable when they lapse into sin? In teaching you that every action of your lives has a consequence of good or evil annexed to it, according as it harmonizes with, or is in opposition to the laws of God, do I promise impunity to vice, and thereby give a loose rein to the impetuosity of passion

—or do I set up around the youthful mind a hedge and circumvallation, within which it finds itself in light, and liberty, and joy; but beyond which lie sin and inevitable suffering, weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth? Let the tree, I say, be known by its fruits. Look to heaven, and see if the doctrines which I teach have debased, or darkened, or bedimmed the attributes of the Supreme; then turn your contemplation inwards, and see whether they have degraded or exalted, chilled or inspired with humble confidence and hope, the soul which God has given you; and by your verdict pronounced after this, let the fate of the doctrines be sealed. In teaching them, be it repeated, I consider myself to be discharging a moral duty; and no frown of men will tempt me to shrink from proceeding in such a course. If my exposition of the Divine Government be true, it is a noble vocation to proclaim it to the world; for the knowledge of it must be fraught with blessings and enjoyment to man. It would be a cold heart and a coward soul, that, with such convictions, would fear the face of clay; and only a demonstration of my being in error, or the hand of the destroyer death, shall arrest my course in proclaiming every portion of my knowledge which promises to augment the virtue and happiness of mankind. If you participate in these sentiments, let us advance and fear not—encouraged by the assurance, that if this doctrine be of man it will come to naught, but that if it be of God, no human authority can ever prevail against it!

LECTURE IV.

PRESERVING BODILY AND MENTAL HEALTH, A MORAL DUTY: AMUSEMENTS.

The next duty of man, as an individual, is to preserve himself in health, bodily and mental. Without health he is unfit for the successful discharge of any of his duties. It is so advantageous and agreeable to enjoy sound health, that many persons will exclaim, "No prophet is needed to inform us that it is our duty and our interest sedulously to guard it;" but many who treat thus lightly the general injunction, are grievously deficient in practical knowledge how to carry it into effect. It is true that every man in his senses, takes care not to fall into the fire or walk into a pool of water; but how many valuable lives are put in jeopardy by sitting in wet clothes, by overtasking the brain in study or the cares of business, or by too frequently repeated convivialities?

In tracing to their source the calamities which arise to families and individuals from bad health, and untimely death, with the laceration of the tenderest feelings, and the numerous privations that are their consequences, it is inconceivable how many of them may be seen obviously to arise from slight, but long continued deviations from the dictates of the organic laws; so slight that at first scarcely any injurious, or even

disagreeable result was observed, but gradually augmenting until the most ruinous consequences are produced. Perhaps the victim was an ardent student, and under the impulse of a laudable ambition to excel in his profession, he studied with so much intensity and for such long periods in succession, that he overtasked his brain, or ruined his digestive functions. His parents and relations, equally ignorant with himself of the organic laws, were rejoicing in his diligence, and forming fond expectations of the brilliant futurity that in their estimation must await one so gifted in virtuous feeling, in intellect, and in industry; when all of a sudden, he was seized with fever, with inflammation, or consumption, and in a few days or weeks they carried him to the tomb. The heart bleeds at the sight, and the ways of Providence appear hard to be reconciled with our natural feelings and expectations; yet when we trace the catastrophe backwards to its first cause, it is discovered to have no mysterious or vindictive origin. The very habits which appeared to the spectators so amiable and calculated to lead to such excellent results, were practically erroneous, and there was not one link wanting to complete the connection between them and the catastrophe which we so seriously lament.

Another cause by which health and life are frequently destroyed, is *occasional* reckless conduct, pursued in ignorance of the laws of the human constitution. A young man in a public office, after many months of sedentary occupation, went to the country on a shooting expedition, where he exhausted himself by muscular exertion, of which his previous habits had rendered him little capable: he went to bed feverish, and perspired much during the night: next day he came to Edinburgh, unprotected by a great

coat, on the outside of a very early coach: his skin was chilled, the perspiration was checked, the blood received an undue determination to the interior vital organs, disease was excited in the lungs, and within a few weeks he was consigned to the tomb.

I received a most instructive communication, in illustration of the topic which I am now discussing, from a medical gentleman well known in the literary world by his instructive publications. His letter was suggested by a perusal of the "Constitution of Man." "On four several occasions," says he, "I have nearly lost my life from infringing the organic laws. When a lad of fifteen, I brought on a brain fever (from excessive study) which nearly killed me; at the age of nineteen I had an attack of peritonitis (inflammation of the lining membrane of the abdomen) occasioned by violent efforts in wrestling and leaping; and while in France, nine years ago, I was laid up with pneumonia (inflammation of the lungs) brought on by dissecting in the great galleries of La Pitié with my coat and hat off in the month of December, the windows next to me being constantly open; and in 1829 I had a dreadful fever, occasioned by walking home from a party, at which I had been dancing, in an exceedingly cold morning, without a cloak or great coat. I was for four months on my back, and did not recover perfectly for more than eighteen months. All these evils were entirely of my own creating, and arose from a foolish violation of laws which every sensible man ought to observe and regulate himself by. Indeed I have always thought—and your book confirms me more fully in the sentiment—that, by proper attention, crime and disease and misery of every sort, could, in a much greater measure than is generally believed, be banished from the earth, and that the true method of

doing so is to instruct people in the laws which govern their own frame."*

The great requisite of health is to preserve *all* the leading organs of the body in a condition of regular and *proportionate* activity; to allow none to become too languid, and none too active. The result of this harmonious activity is a pleasing consciousness of existence, experienced when the mind is withdrawn from all exciting objects and turned inward on its own feelings and condition. A philosophical friend once remarked to me, that he never considered himself to be in complete health, except when he was able to place his feet firmly on the turf, his hands hanging carelessly by his sides, and his eyes wandering over space, and thus circumstanced, to feel such agreeable sensations arising in his mere bodily frame, that he could raise his mind to heaven, and thank God that he was a living man. This description of the quiet, pleasing enjoyment which attends complete health, appears to me to be admirable. It can hardly be doubted that the Creator intended that the mere play of our physical organs should yield us pleasure. It is probable that this is the chief gratification enjoyed by the inferior animals; and although we have received the high gift of reason, it does not necessarily follow that we should be deprived of the pleasures of our organic nature. How different is the enjoyment which I have described, arising from the temperate, active, harmonious play of every bodily function,—from

* The author of this letter was Dr. Robert Macnish, and I regret to say that since it was written, he has fallen a victim to another attack of fever, evidently brought on by over-exertion. A vigorous frame, and a very active temperament, with early habits of restless activity, rendered the lessons even of experience insufficient, in his case, to moderate his exertions. Exhausted by fatigue, he was exposed to the influence of contagion in his profession, caught typhus fever, and died.

sensual pleasure,—which results from the abuse of a few of our bodily appetites, followed by lasting pain; and yet so grossly perverted are human notions, in consequence of ignorance and vicious habits, that thousands attach no idea to the phrase *bodily pleasure*, but sensual indulgence. The pleasurable feelings resulting from health are delicate and refined; they are the reward and the grand allies of virtue, and totally incompatible with vicious gratification of the appetites. I am afraid that so widely do the habits of civilized life depart from the standards of nature, that this enjoyment is known, in its full exquisiteness, to comparatively few. Too many of us, when we direct our attention to our physical sensations, experience, instead of it, only feelings of discomfort, anxiety, and discontent, which make us fly to an external pursuit, that we may escape from ourselves. This undefined uneasiness is the result of slight, but extensive derangement of the vital functions, and the prelude of future disease. The causes of these uneasy feelings may be traced to our erroneous habits, occupations, and physical condition; and until society shall become so enlightened as to adopt extensive improvements in all these particulars, there is no prospect of their termination.

It is instructive to compare with our own, the modes of life of the lower animals, whose actions and habits are directly prompted and regulated by the Creator, by means of their instincts; because in all circumstances in which our constitution closely resembles theirs, their conduct is really a lesson read to us by the All-wise himself. If, then, we survey them attentively, we shall discover that the greatest care has been taken to prompt them to a course of action that shall produce this harmonious activity in all their vital organs,

and thus insure their general possession of health. All animals in a state of nature are remarkably cleanly in their habits. You must all have observed the feathered tribes dressing their plumage and washing themselves in the brooks. The domestic cat is most careful to preserve a clean, sleek, shining skin; the dog rolls himself on grass or straw; and you will see the horse, when grazing, do the same, if he has not enjoyed the luxury of being well curried. The sow, although our standard of comparison for dirt, is not deserving of this character. If you observe its habits, you will find that it is invariably clean, wherever it is possible for it to be so; and that its bad reputation arises from its master's leaving it no sphere of existence, except dunghills and other receptacles of filth. In a stable yard, where there is abundance of clean straw, the sleeping place of the sow is clean and proper, and it makes great efforts to preserve it in this condition.

Again—you will find that a degree of labor has been imposed on the inferior animals, in a state of nature, in acquiring their food, which amounts to regular exercise of all their corporeal functions: And lastly, their food has been so adjusted to their constitutions, that they are well nourished, but very rarely rendered sick through surfeit, or the bad quality of what they eat. I speak always of animals in a state of nature. The domestic cow which has stood in a house for many months, when first turned into a clover field, is sometimes guilty of committing a surfeit; but she would not do so if left on the hill side, and allowed to pick up her food by assiduous exertion. The animals, I repeat, are impelled directly by the Creator to act in the manner now described; and when we study their organization, and see what is necessa-

ry to preserve it in health and enjoyment, we greatly admire the wisdom and benevolence displayed in their habits and constitution.

Man differs from the brutes in this—that, instead of blind instincts, he is furnished with reason which enables him to study himself, the external world, and their mutual relations; and to pursue the conduct which these point out as beneficial. It is by examining the structure, modes of action, and objects, of the various parts of his constitution, that man discovers what his duties of performance and abstinence in regard to health, really are. This proposition may be illustrated in the following manner. The skin has innumerable pores, and serves as an outlet for the waste particles of the body. The quantity of noxious matter excreted through these pores in twenty-four hours is, on the very lowest estimate, about twenty-four ounces. If the passage of this matter be obstructed, so that it is retained in the body, the quality of the blood is deteriorated by its presence, and the general health, which greatly depends on the state of the blood, is made to suffer. The nature of perspired matter is such, that it is apt, in consequence of the evaporation of its watery portion, to be condensed and clog the pores of the skin; and hence the necessity for washing the surface frequently, so as to keep the pores open and allow perspiration to be freely performed. The clothing, moreover, must be so porous and clean, as readily to absorb and allow a passage to the matter perspired, otherwise the same results ensue as from the impurity of the skin, namely, the obstruction of the process of perspiration. Nor is this all. The skin is an absorbing as well as an excreting organ, so that foreign substances in contact with it are sucked into its pores and introduced into the blood. When cleanliness is neglected, therefore,

the evil consequence is two-fold: first, the pores, as we have seen, are clogged, and the perspiration obstructed; and, secondly, part of the noxious matter left on the skin or clothing, is absorbed into the system, where it produces hurtful effects. From an exposition of the structure and functions of the skin, therefore, the necessity for cleanliness of person and clothing, becomes abundantly evident; and the corresponding duty of cleanliness is more likely to be performed by those who know what has just been described, than by persons who are impelled to performance by bare injunctions. In some parts of the east, ablution of the body is justly regarded as a religious duty; but it need not be told how extensively this duty is neglected in our own country. When men become enlightened, a warm bath, once a week at least, will be considered one of the necessaries of life:—those who are in the habit of keeping their skin in a proper condition, by means of bathing and friction, will bear testimony to the increase of comfort and activity which is thus secured.

I might, in like manner, describe the structure and modes of action of the bones, muscles, blood vessels, nerves, and brain; and demonstrate to you that the necessity of labor, bodily and mental, of temperance, of attention to ventilation, clothing, lodging, and of a great variety of other observances, is written by the finger of God, in the frame-work of our bodies; but this belongs, as I have said, to Physiology, and here I assume that you have studied and understand that subject. I limit myself to two observations. Exercise of the bones and muscles is labor, and therefore labor, instead of being imposed on man as a curse, is a positive source of his well-being and enjoyment.—It is only excessive labor that is painful; and in a well ordered community there is no necessity for such ex-

ertion as will be painful. Secondly, Exercise of the brain is mental activity, either intellectual, or moral, or animal, according to the faculties which we employ. Mental inactivity, therefore, is synonymous with inactivity of the brain; and as it is the fountain of nervous energy to the whole system, the punishment of neglecting it is great and severe—namely, feelings of lassitude, uneasiness, fear, and anxiety; vague desires, sleepless nights; and a general consciousness of discomfort, with incapacity to escape from suffering; all which poison life at its source and render it thoroughly miserable. Well regulated mental activity, combined with due bodily exercise, on the other hand, is rewarded with gay, joyous feelings, an inward alacrity to discharge all our duties, a good appetite, sound sleep, and a general consciousness of happiness that causes days and years to fleet away without leaving a trace of care or sorrow behind.

While moderate and proportionate exercise of all the bodily and mental functions is essential to health, it is equally indispensable to avoid over-exertion and excessive mental excitement, if we desire to preserve this invaluable blessing. Owing to the constitution of British society it is extremely difficult to avoid one or other of the extremes of indolence and over-exertion, in our habitual conduct. Many persons, being born to wealth, have few motives to exertion; and such individuals, particularly females, often suffer grievously in their health and happiness from want of rational pursuits, calculated to excite and exercise their bodies and minds. Others, again, who do not inherit riches from their ancestors, are tempted to overwork themselves in acquiring them; an expensive style of living is so general as to be felt by many to be almost unavoidable; and to support it, they labor so incessantly that almost no leisure remains for the cultivation of their

moral and intellectual powers, and for that repose of mind, and wholesome exercise of body, which are so indispensable to health. Hence arise indigestion and other diseases; and many, even after they have succeeded in acquiring wealth, feel uncomfortable and discontented. How many of us, after beginning our labors long before the sun at this season dawns on our city, find it difficult to snatch even this late hour, at which we now assemble, from our pressing and yet unfulfilled business engagements! The same state of society exists in the United States of America, and the same effects ensue. Dr. Caldwell, one of the ornaments of that country, in his work on physical education, introduces some excellent remarks on the tendency of the embroilment of party politics and religious differences to over-excite the brain and produce insanity, and also dyspepsia or indigestion, which, says he, is more nearly allied to insanity than is commonly supposed. "So true is this," he adds, "that the one is not unfrequently converted into the other, and often alternates with it. The lunatic is usually a dyspeptic during his lucid intervals; and complaints, which begin in some form of gastric derangement, turn, in many instances, to madness. Nor is this all. In families where mental derangement is hereditary, the members who escape that complaint are more than usually obnoxious to dyspepsia. It may be added, that dyspeptics and lunatics are relieved by the same modes of treatment, and that their maladies are induced, for the most part, by the same causes." The passions of grief, jealousy, anger, and envy, impair the digestive power; and dyspepsia is often cured by abandoning care and business, and giving rest to the brain. It is chiefly for this reason that a visit to a watering place is so beneficial. The agitations of commercial speculation and too eager pursuit of

wealth, have the same effect with party politics and religious controversy in over-exciting the brain; and "hence, in all probability, the inordinate extent of insanity and indigestion in Britain, and still more in the United States."

In opposition to these obvious dictates of reason, two objections are generally urged. First, That persons who are always taking care of their health, generally ruin it; their heads are filled with hypochondriacal fancies and alarms, and they become habitual valetudinarians. The answer to this remark is, that all such persons are already valetudinarians before they begin to experience that anxiety about their health here described; they are already nervous or dyspeptic, the victims of a morbid uneasiness of mind, which, for want of other objects, is at last directed towards the state of their health. They are essentially in the right, however, as to the main cause of their distress, for their anxiety certainly does proceed from disorder of their organic functions: Their chief error lies in this, that their care of health proceeds from an anxiety without knowledge, and leads to no beneficial result. They take quack medicines or nostrums, or follow some foolish observances, instead of subjecting themselves patiently and perseveringly to a regimen in diet, and a regular course of exercise, amusement, and relaxation,—the remedies dictated by the organic laws. This last proceedure alone is what I call taking care of our health; and I have never seen any human being become an invalid, or a hypochondriac, from adopting it. On the contrary I have known many individuals who have ceased to suffer under these maladies in consequence of this rational obedience to the organic laws.

The second objection is, that many persons live in sound health to a good old age, who never take any

care of themselves at all; whence it is inferred that the safest plan is to follow their example and act on all occasions as impulse prompts, never doubting but that our health, if we pursue this manly course, will take care of itself. The answer to this objection is, that constitutions differ widely in the amount of their native stamina, and in consequence, in the extent of tear and wear and bad treatment which they are able to sustain without being ruined; and that from this cause, one individual may be comparatively little injured by a course of action which would prove fatal to another, with a feebler natural frame: But the grand principle of the philosophy which I am now teaching, is, that the natural laws really admit of no exceptions, and that specific causes must exist, in all these instances, sufficient to account for the apparent exception. Some of these individuals may have enjoyed very robust constitutions, which it was difficult to subvert: Others may have indulged in excesses only at intervals, passing an intermediate period in abstinence, and permitting the powers of nature to re-adjust themselves and recover their tone, before they committed a new debauch: and others may have led an extremely active life, passing much of their time in the open air; a mode of life which enables the constitution to withstand a greater extent of intemperance than it can do with sedentary employment. But of one and all these men, we may safely affirm, that if they had obeyed the organic laws, they would have lived still longer and more happily than they did by infringing them: and according to my own observation, I have never seen an example of an individual who perseveringly proceeded in a course of intemperance, either sensual or mental,—that is, who habitually over-tasked his stomach or his brain,—who did not permanently ruin his health, usefulness, and enjoyment; and I, therefore, cannot be-

lieve in the supposed exceptions to the organic laws.

One source of fallacy on this subject may be traced to the wide prevailing ignorance which exists regarding the real structure and functions of the body, in consequence of which danger is frequently present, although it may be unknown to those who thus unthinkingly expose themselves to its approach. If you have marked a party of young men proceeding in a boat on a pleasure sail in the Frith of Forth, every one of whom is unacquainted with the currents, sand banks, and rocks, visible and invisible, with which the Frith is remarkably studded, you may have seen them all gay, alert, full of fun and frolic; and if the day has been calm and the sea smooth, you may have observed them return in the evening well and happy, and altogether unconscious of the dangers to which their ignorance exposed them. They may repeat the experiment, and succeed, by a fortunate combination of circumstances, again and again; but how different would be the feelings of a prudent and experienced pilot, who knew every part of the channel, and who saw that on one day they had passed within three inches of a sunken rock which would have smashed their boat to pieces; on another, had escaped by a few yards a dangerous sand bank; and on a third, had with great difficulty been able to extricate themselves from a current which was rapidly carrying them on a precipitous and rocky shore. The pilot's anxiety would probably be fully justified at length, by the upsetting of the boat in a squall, its destruction in a mist, or its driving out to sea when the wind aided an adverse current. This is not an imaginary picture. In my own youth I, on one occasion, formed one of such an inconsiderate party. The wind rose on us, and all our strength applied to the oars scarcely suf-

ficed to enable us to round a point of rock, on which the sea was beating with so much force, that had we struck on it, our frail bark would never have stood a second shock. Scarcely had we escaped this danger, when we ran right in the way of a heavy man of war's boat, scudding at the rate of ten miles an hour before the wind, and which would have run us down, but for the amazing promptitude of her crew, who in an instant extended twenty brawny arms over the side of their own boat, seized ours, and held it above water by main force, till they were able to clear away by our stern. The adventure was terminated by our being picked up by a revenue cutter, and brought safely into Leith at a late hour in the evening. I have frequently reflected since on the folly and presumptuous confidence of that adventure; but I never was aware of the full extent of the danger, until, many years subsequently, I saw a regular chart of the Frith, in which the shoals, sunken rocks, and currents were conspicuously laid down for the direction of pilots who navigate these waters. Thus it is with rash, reckless, ignorant youth in regard to health. Each folly or indiscretion that, through some combination of fortunate circumstances, has been committed without immediate punishment, emboldens them to venture on greater irregularities, until in an evil hour, they are caught in a violation of the organic laws that consigns them to the grave. Those who have become acquainted with the structure, functions and laws of the vital organs, see the conduct of these blind adventurers on the ocean of life, in the same light that our youthful voyage appeared to me after I had become acquainted with the chart of the Frith: There is an unspeakable difference between a belief in safety founded only on utter ignorance of the existence of danger, and that real safety which arises from a knowledge of all the

sunken rocks and eddies in the stream, and from a practical pilot's skill in steering clear away from them all. The pilot is as gay and joyous as they; but his joy arises from assurance of safety; theirs, from ignorance of danger. He is cheerful, yet always observant, cautious, and alert. They are happy, because they are unobservant, and heedless. When danger comes, he meets and conquers it, or shuns it by his skill. They escape it by accident, or perish unwittingly in a moment.

The last observation which I make on this head is, that in regard to health, Nature may be said to allow us to run an account current with her laws, in which many small transgressions appear at the time to be followed by no penalty; when, in fact, they are all charged to the debit side of the account, and after the lapse of years, are summed up and closed by a fearful balance against the transgressor. Do any of you know individuals, who, for twenty years, have persevered in continued feastings, who all that time have been constant diners out, or diners at home, or the soul of convivial meetings, prolonged into far advanced hours of the morning, who have resisted every warning and admonition from friends, and proceeded in the confident belief that neither their health nor strength was impaired by such a course? Nature kept an account current with such men. She had, at first, placed a strong constitution and vigorous health to their credit, and they had drawn on it day by day, believing that, because she did not instantly strike the balance against them and withdraw her blessing, she was keeping no note of their follies: But mark the close. At the end of twenty years, or less, you will find them dying of palsy, apoplexy, water in the chest, or some other disease clearly referable to their protracted intemperance; or if they escape death, you

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will see them become walking shadows, the ghosts of their former selves, in short, the beacons set up by nature to warn others that she does not in any instance permit her laws to be transgressed with impunity. If a sedulous education in the laws of health, would not assist the reason and moral and religious feelings of such persons to curb their appetites, and avoid these consequences, they must be reckless indeed. At least, until this shall have been tried and failed, we should never despair, or consider their case and condition as beyond the reach of remedy.

It must be allowed, however, that the dangers arising to health from improper social habits and arrangements, cannot be altogether avoided by the exertions of individuals acting singly in their separate spheres. I shall have occasion, hereafter, in explaining the social law, to point out that the great precept of christianity, that we must love our neighbors as ourselves, is inscribed in every line of our constitution; and that in consequence, we must render our neighbors as moral, intelligent, and virtuous as ourselves, before we can reap the full reward even of our own knowledge and attainments. As an example in point, I observe, that if there be among us any one merchant, manufacturer or lawyer, who feels, in all its magnitude and intensity, the evil of an over-strained pursuit of wealth; yet he cannot, with impunity, abridge his hours of toil, unless he can induce his rivals to do so also. If they persevere, they will outstrip him in the race of competition and impair his fortune. We must, therefore, produce a general conviction among the constituent members of society, that Providence forbids that course of incessant action which obstructs the path of moral and intellectual improvement, and leads to mental anxiety and corporeal suffering, and induce them, by a simultaneous movement, to apply

an effectual remedy in a wiser and better distribution of the hours of labor, relaxation and enjoyment. Every one of us can testify, that this is *possible*, so far as the real, necessary, and advantageous business of the world is concerned; for we all perceive that by a judicious arrangement of our time and our affairs, all necessary business may be compressed within many fewer hours than we now dedicate to that object, so as to allow us a reasonable space for mental cultivation, exercise and amusement. I should consider eight hours a day an ample allowance of time for business and labor, which would allow us eight hours more for enjoyment, and eight for repose, a distribution that would cause life to flow more cheerfully, agreeably and successfully, than it can do under our present system of ceaseless competition and toil.

It appears, then, from the foregoing considerations, that the study and observance of the laws of health is a *moral* duty; this conduct being clearly revealed by our very constitution as the will of God, and being moreover necessary to the due discharge of all our other duties. We rarely hear from divines an exposition of the duty of preserving health, founded on our natural constitution, because they confine themselves to the book of revelation. The scriptures, however, in prescribing sobriety and temperance, moderation and activity, clearly coincide with the natural law on this subject: but we ought not to study the former to the exclusion of the latter; for by learning the structure, functions and relations of the human body, we are rendered more fully aware of the excellence of the scriptural precepts, and obtain new motives to observe them in our perception of the punishments by which, even in this world, the breach of them is visited. Why the exposition of the will of God, when strikingly written in the Book of Nature, should be

neglected by divines, is explicable only by the fact, that when the present standards of theology were framed, that book was sealed, and its contents were unknown. We cannot, therefore, justly blame our ancestors for the omission; but it is not too much to hope that modern divines may take courage and supply the deficiency. I believe that many of them are inclined to do so, but are afraid of giving offence to the people. By teaching the people to regard all natural institutions as divine, because they proceed from the Creator, this obstacle to improvement may, in time, be removed, and religion may be brought to lend her powerful aid in enforcing obedience to the natural laws.

In my Introductory Lecture, I explained that Veneration, as well as the other moral sentiments, is merely a blind feeling, that needs to be directed by knowledge. In that lecture, I alluded to the case of an English lady, who had all her life been taught to regard Christmas and Good Friday as holy, and who was greatly shocked at observing them, on her first arrival in Edinburgh, to be desecrated by ordinary business. Her Veneration had been trained to regard them as sanctified days; and she could not, all at once, divest herself of the feeling of pain at seeing them treated without any religious respect. I humbly propose, that in a sound education, the sentiment of veneration should be directed to all that God has really instituted. If the structure and functions of the body were taught to youth, as God's workmanship, and the duties deducible from them were clearly enforced as his commands, the mind would feel it to be sinful to neglect or violate them; and a great additional efficacy would thereby be given to our precepts of exercise, cleanliness, and temperance. Such instruction would come home to youth, enforced

by the perceptions of the understanding, and by the emotions of the moral sentiments; and they would be practically confirmed by the experience of pleasure from observance, and pain from infringement of them. The young, in short, would be taught to trace their duty to its foundation in the will of God,—to discover that it is addressed to them as rational beings; and, at the same time, they would learn that this is no vain philosophy; for they would speedily discern the Creator's hand rewarding them for obedience, and punishing them for transgression.

As closely connected with health, I proceed to consider the subject of amusements, regarding which much difference of opinion prevails. When we have no real philosophy of mind, this question becomes altogether inextricable; because every individual disputant ascribes to human nature those tendencies, either to vice or virtue, which suit his favorite theory, and then he has no difficulty in proving that amusements either are, or are not, necessary and advantageous to a being so constituted. Phrenology gives us a firmer basis. As formerly remarked, man cannot make and unmake mental organs, nor vary their functions and laws of action to suit his different theories and views. I observe, then, that every mental organ, by frequent and long continued action, becomes fatigued, just as the muscles of the leg and arm become weary by long protracted exertion. Indeed, it is in consequence of the interposition of organs, that we can conceive the mind to feel fatigue at all. It is comprehensible that the vigor of the fibres of the organ of Tune might become exhausted by a constant repetition of the same kind of action, and demand repose; while the idea of an immaterial spirit becoming weary, is altogether inconceivable.

From this law of our constitution, therefore, it is plain that variety of employment is necessary to our welfare, and was intended by the Creator: Hence he has given us a variety of faculties, each having a separate organ, so that some may rest, while others were actively employed. Among these various faculties and organs, there are several which appear clearly destined to contribute to our amusement; a circumstance which (in the words of Addison) "sufficiently shews us that Providence did not design this world should be filled with murmurs and repinings, or that the heart of man should be involved in gloom and melancholy." We have unquestionably received organs of wit, which when predominantly active, prompt us to laugh and to excite laughter in others: We have received organs of Time and Tune, which inspire us with the desire, and give us the talent, to produce music. Our organs of voluntary motion are so connected with these organs, that when we hear gay and vivacious measures played in well marked time, we instinctively desire to dance; and when we survey the effect of dancing on our corporeal frame, we discover that it is admirably calculated to promote the circulation of the blood and nervous influence all over the body, and thereby to strengthen the limbs, the heart, the lungs, and the brain; in short, to invigorate the health, and to render the mind alert, cheerful and happy. To such of my audience as have not studied anatomy and physiology, and who are ignorant of the functions of the brain, these propositions may appear to be mere words or theories; but to those who have made the structure, functions, relations, and adaptations of the various organs a subject of careful study and contemplation, I feel assured that they will appear in the light of truths. If so, our constitution proves

that amusement has been kindly intended for us by the Creator, and that, therefore, in itself it must be not only harmless, but absolutely beneficial.

In this, as in every thing else, we must distinguish between the use and abuse of natural gifts: Because some young men neglect their graver duties through an excessive love of music, some parents denounce music altogether as dangerous and pernicious to youth; and because some young ladies think more earnestly about balls and operas than about their advancement in moral, intellectual and religious attainments, there are parents who are equally disposed to proscribe dancing. But this is as irrational as if they should propose to prohibit eating because Helen or Tom had committed a surfeit. These enjoyments in due season and degree are advantageous, and it is only sheer ignorance and impatience that can prompt any one to propose their abolition.

The organs of Intellect, combined with Secretiveness, Imitation and Ideality, confer a talent for acting, or for representing by words, looks, gestures and attitudes, the various emotions, passions and ideas of the soul; and these representations excite the faculties of the spectators into activity in the most powerful and pleasing manner. Farther, the Creator has bestowed on us organs of Constructiveness, Form, Size, Locality and Coloring, which, combined with Imitation and Ideality, prompt us to represent in statuary or painting the beings and objects of external nature; and these representations also speak directly to the mind of the beholder and fill it with delightful emotions. Here, then, we trace the origin of the stage and of the fine arts directly to nature. Again, I am forced to remark that to those individuals who have not studied phrenology and seen evidence of the existence and functions of the organs here enumerated, this refer-

ence of the fine arts, and of the stage in particular, to nature, or in other words to the intention of the Creator, will appear unwarranted, perhaps irreverent or impious; but I reply that I have satisfied myself by observation that such organs *do* exist, and that they produce the effects here described, and that therefore I cannot avoid the conclusion in question; and in support of it I may refer also to the existence of the stage, and to the delight of mankind, in all ages and among all civilized nations, in its representations.

If, therefore, the faculties which produce the love of the stage and the fine arts have been instituted by the Creator, we may rely on the inference that these have legitimate, improving, and exalting objects; although, like our other gifts, they may be abused. The line of demarcation between their use and abuse may be distinguished by a moderate exercise of judgment. They are in themselves mere arts of representation and expression, a species of natural language, which may be made subservient to the gratification of the propensities, or of the moral and intellectual faculties. We may represent in statuary, on canvass, or on the stage, the lascivious and immoral objects, calculated to excite all the lower feelings of our nature;—and this is a disgraceful abuse; but we may also body forth scenes and objects calculated to excite, and by exciting to strengthen, the moral, religious, and intellectual powers, and to carry forward our whole being in the paths of virtue and improvement;—and this is the legitimate use of these gifts of God.

The applications made of these powers, by particular nations or individuals, bear reference to their general mental condition. The ancient Greeks and Romans enjoyed very immoral plays, and also fights of gladiators and combats of wild beasts, in which men and animals tore each other to pieces, and put each

other to death. Such scenes were the direct stimulants of Amativeness, Combativeness, and Destructiveness, and proclaim to us more forcibly than the pages of the most eloquent, veracious, and authentic historians, that these nations, with all their boasted refinement, were essentially barbarians, and that the moral sentiments had not attained any important ascendency in the great mass of the people. In the days of Queen Elizabeth and Charles the Second, plays of a very indelicate character were listened to by the nobles and common people of Britain, without the least expression of dissatisfaction; and this indicated a general grossness of feeling, and of manners, to be prevalent among them. Even in our own day, we become spectators of plays of very imperfect morality, and questionable delicacy, and I draw the same conclusion, that there still lurks among us no small portion of active animal propensity, and that the moral and intellectual faculties have not yet achieved the full conquest over our animal nature; but in all these instances there is an evident progression towards a more legitimate use of our native powers of amusement; and I conclude from this fact, as well as from the powers having been bestowed by the Creator, that future generations will carry their applications to still higher and more useful objects. Nor is it too enthusiastic to hope that some future Shakspeare, aided by the true philosophy of mind, and a knowledge of the natural laws, according to which good and evil are dispensed in the world, may yet teach and illustrate the philosophy of human life, with all the power and efficacy which lofty genius can impart; and that a future Kemble or Siddons may proclaim such lessons in living speech and gestures to mankind. By looking forward to possibilities like these, we are enabled to form some notion of the legitimate objects for which the

stage was given, and of the improvement and delight of which it may yet be rendered the instrument.

If there be any truth in the principles on which these remarks proceed, we cannot help lamenting that helpless (although well meaning and amiable) imbecility, which, alarmed at the abuses of amusements, decries them altogether. A few days ago, (Dec. 1835,) we saw an announcement in the public papers that the ladies directresses of the House of Industry of Edinburgh had declined to accept of money drawn at Mr. Cooke's circus for the benefit of that charity, because it was against their principles to countenance public amusements. If I am warranted in saying that the Creator has constituted our minds and bodies to be benefited by amusements, has given us faculties specially destined to produce amusement, and has assigned a sphere of use and abuse to these faculties as well as to all others, it is clearly injudicious in the amiable, the virtuous, the charitable and the religious,—in persons meriting our warmest sympathy and respect,—to place themselves in an attitude of hostility, and of open and indiscriminate denunciation, against amusements founded on the laws of our common nature. Instead of bringing all the weight of their moral and intellectual character to bear upon the improvement and beneficial application of these institutions, as it is obviously their duty, both to God and to society, to do; they fly from them as pestilential, and leave the direction of them exclusively to those whom they consider fitted only to abuse them. This is an example of piety and charity smitten with a moral paralysis through ignorance, and with a fatal cowardice through want of discipline. In teaching you to know all things, to try all things, and to distinguish between the uses and abuses of every gift, my ambition is to give you courage to *maintain virtue*,

as well as *knowledge* to *distinguish* it; to render you bold in advocating what is right, and to induce you, while there is an inch of reason and morality left to rest upon, never to abandon the field, whether of duty, instruction, or amusement, to those whom you consider the enemies of human happiness and virtue. Let us correct all our institutions, but not extinguish those that are founded in nature.

LECTURE V.

ON THE DUTIES OF MAN AS A DOMESTIC BEING.

The previous Lectures have been devoted to the duties incumbent on man strictly as an individual, namely, the duties of acquiring knowledge and preserving his health. The reason I have thus limited his individual duties is, that I consider man essentially as a social being; and that with the exception of his duties to God, which we shall subsequently consider, he has no duties, as an individual, beyond those I have mentioned, any more than any particular wheel of a watch has functions independently of performing its part in the general movements of the machine. I mean by this, that although man subsists and acts uniformly as an individual, yet his faculties bear reference to other beings as their objects, and shew that his proper sphere of life and action is in the society of these beings. You could not conceive a bee, with its present instincts, and powers of co-operation, happy, if it were established in solitary loneliness, the sole occupant of an extensive heath, or flower bespangled meadow. In such a situation it might have food in abundance, and scope of action for such of its faculties as related only to itself; but its social instincts would be deprived of their objects and natural spheres of action.

These observations are applicable to man. His faculties bear reference to other beings, and shew that in their society nature has intended him to live and act. His duties *as a member of the social body* are now to be treated of; and first, his duties as *a domestic being*.

The domestic character of man is founded on, or arises from, the innate faculties of Amativeness, Philoprogenitiveness, and Adhesiveness.* These give him a desire for a companion of a different sex, for children, and for the society of human beings. Marriage results from the combination of these three faculties with the moral sentiments and intellect, and is thus a natural institution.

Some persons conceive that marriage, or living in union for life, is a yoke imposed upon man by the ecclesiastical or civil law only. This idea is erroneous. Where the organs above enumerated are *adequately* and *equally* possessed, and the moral and intellectual faculties predominate, marriage, or union for life, is a natural institution. It prevailed among the ancient Greeks and Romans, and exists among the Chinese and many other nations who have not embraced either Judaism or Christianity. Indeed marriage, or living in society for life, is not peculiar to man. The fox, martin, wild cat, mole, eagle, sparrowhawk, pigeon, swan, nightingale, sparrow, swallow, and other creatures, unite in pairs for life†. After the breeding season is past, they remain in union; they make their expeditions together, and if they belong to animals which live in herds, the spouses remain always near each other.

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* Dr. Vimont says that there is a special organ, next to Philoprogenitiveness, giving a desire for union for life.

†Gall's Works, vol. III. p. 432.

It is true that certain individuals find the marriage tie a restraint, and would prefer that it should be abolished; also that some tribes of savages may be found, among whom it can scarcely be said to exist. But if we examine the heads of such individuals and tribes, we shall find that Amativeness greatly predominates in size over Adhesiveness and the moral sentiments; and such individuals are not proper standards by which human nature should be estimated. Viewing marriage as the result of man's constitution, we give to it a divine origin. It is a law written in our minds; and it is supported by rewards and punishments peculiar to itself, like all other divine institutions. The reward attached to it, is enjoyment of some of the purest and best pleasures of which our nature is susceptible; and the punishment inflicted for inconstancy in it, is moral and physical degradation.

Among the duties incumbent on the human race in relation to marriage, one is, that the parties to it should not unite before a proper age. The civil law of Scotland allows females to marry at twelve, and males at fourteen; but the law of nature is widely different. The female frame does not, in general, arrive at its full vigor and perfection, in this climate, earlier than twenty-two, nor the male earlier than from twenty-four to twenty-six. Before these ages maturity of physical strength and of mental vigor is not in general attained, and the individuals, with particular exceptions, are neither corporeally nor mentally prepared to become parents, nor to discharge, with advantage, the duties of heads of a domestic establishment. Their animal propensities are strong, and their moral and intellectual organs have not yet attained their full development. Children born of such young parents are inferior in the size and qualities of their brains, to children born of the same parents when

arrived at maturity. Such children, having inferior brains, are inferior in dispositions and capacity. It is a common remark, that the eldest son of a rich family is generally not equal to his younger brothers in mental ability; and this is ascribed to his having relied on his hereditary fortune for his subsistence, and not exerted himself in obtaining education; but you will find that very generally, in such cases, the parents, or one of them, married in extreme youth, and that the eldest child inherits the imperfections of their immature condition.

The statement of the evidence and consequences of this law, belongs to physiology; and I can only remark, that if the Creator has prescribed ages, previous to which, marriage is punished by him with evil consequences, we are bound to pay deference to His enactments; and that civil and ecclesiastical laws, when standing in opposition to his, are not only absurd, but mischievous. Conscience is misled by these erroneous human enactments; for a girl of fifteen has no idea that she sins, if her marriage be authorized by the law and the church. In spite, however, of the sanction of acts of Parliament, and of clerical benedictions, the Creator punishes severely if His laws be infringed. His punishments assume the following, among other forms:

The parties being young, ignorant, inexperienced, and chiefly actuated by passion, often make unfortunate selections of partners, and entail lasting unhappiness on themselves.

They transmit imperfect constitutions and inferior dispositions to their earliest born children. And

They often involve themselves in pecuniary difficulties, in consequence of a sufficient provision not having been made before marriage.

These punishments, being inflicted by the Creator,

indicate that His law has been violated; in other words, that marriage at a too early age is positively sinful.

There ought not to be a very great disparity between the ages of the husband and wife. There is a physical and mental condition naturally attendant on each age, and persons whose organs are in corresponding conditions sympathize in their feelings, judgments and pursuits, and therefore, form suitable companions for each other. When the ages are widely different this sympathy is wanting, and the offspring also is injured. In such instances, it is generally the husband who transgresses; old men are fond of marrying young women. The children of such unions often suffer grievously from the disparity. The late Dr. Robert Macnish, in a letter addressed to me, gives the following illustration of this remark: "I know," says he, "an *old* gentleman, who has been twice married. The children of his first marriage are strong, active, healthy people, and their children are the same. The offspring of his second marriage are very inferior, especially in an intellectual point of view; and the younger the children are, the more is this obvious. The girls are superior to the boys, both physically and intellectually. Indeed, their mother told me that she had great difficulty in rearing her sons, but none with her daughters. The gentleman himself, at the time of his second marriage, was upwards of sixty, and his wife about twenty-five. This shews very clearly that the boys have taken chiefly off the father and the daughters off the mother."

Another natural law in regard to marriage is, that the parties should not be related to each other in blood. This law holds good in the transmission of all organized beings. Even vegetables are deteriorated, if the same stock be repeatedly planted on the same ground,

In the case of the lower animals, a continued disregard of this law is almost universally admitted to be detrimental, and human nature affords no exception to the rule. It is written in our organization, and the consequences of its infringement may be discovered in the degeneracy, physical and mental, of many noble and royal families, who have long and systematically set it at defiance. Kings of Portugal and Spain, for instance, occasionally apply to the Pope for permission to marry their nieces. The Pope grants the dispensation; and the marriage is celebrated with all the solemnities of religion. The blessing of heaven is invoked on the union. The real power of his Holiness, however, is here put to the test. He is successful in delivering the king from the censures of the church, and his offspring from the civil consequences of illegitimacy; but the Creator yields not one jot or tittle of his law. The union is either altogether unfruitful, or children miserably constituted in body, and imbecile in mind are produced; and this is the form in which the divine displeasure is announced. The Creator, however, is not recognized by his Holiness, nor by priests in general, nor by ignorant kings, as governing, by fixed laws, in the organic world. They proceed as if their own power were supreme. Even when they have tasted the bitter consequences of their folly, they are far from recognizing the cause of their sufferings. With much self-complacency, they resign themselves to the events, and seek consolation in religion. "The Lord giveth," say they, "and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord;" as if the Lord did not give men understanding, and impose on them the obligation of using it to discover His laws and obey them; and as if there were no impiety in shutting their eyes against His laws, in pretending to dispense with them; and finally, when they are un-

dergoing the punishment of such transgressions, in appealing to Him for consolation.

It is curious to observe the enactments of legislators on this subject. According to the *Levitical* law, which we have adopted, "marriage is prohibited between relations, within *three* degrees of kindred, computing the generations through the common ancestor, and accounting affinity the same as consanguinity. Among the *Athenians*, brothers and sisters of the half-blood, if related by the father's side, might marry; if by the mother's side, they were prohibited from marrying. The same custom, says Paley, probably prevailed in *Chaldea*, for Sarah was Abraham's half-sister. 'She is the daughter of my father,' says Abraham, but not of my mother; and she became my wife.' Gen. xx. 12. The *Roman* law continued the prohibition without limits to the descendants of brothers or sisters."*

Here we observe Athenian, Chaldean, and Roman legislators prohibiting or permitting the same act, apparently according to the degree of light which had penetrated into their own understandings concerning its natural consequences. The real divine law is written in the structure and modes of action of our bodily and mental constitutions, and it prohibits the marriage of all blood relations, diminishing the punishment, however, according as the remoteness from the common ancestor increases, but allowing marriages among relations by affinity, without any prohibition whatever. According to the law of Scotland, a man may marry his cousin german, or his *great* niece, both of which connections the law of nature declares to be inexpedient; but he may not marry his deceased wife's sister, against which connection nature declares no penalty whatever. He might have

* Paley's Moral Philosophy, p. 228.

married either sister at first without impropriety, and there is no reason *in nature*, why he may not marry them in succession, the one after the other has died. There may be other reasons of expediency for prohibiting this connection, but I mean to say that the organic laws contain no denunciations against it.

In Scotland the practice of full cousins marrying is not uncommon, and you will meet with examples of healthy families born of such unions; and from these an argument is maintained against the existence of the natural law which we are now considering. But it is only when the parents have both had excellent constitutions that the children do not attract attention by their imperfections. The first alliance against the natural laws brings down the tone of the organs and functions, say one degree; the second two degrees, and the third three; and perseverance in transgression ends in glaring imperfections, or in extinction of the race. This is undeniable, and it proves the reality of the law. The children of healthy cousins are not so favorably organized as the children of the same parents, if married to equally healthy partners, not at all related in blood, would have been. If the cousins have themselves inherited indifferent constitutions, the degeneracy is striking even in their children. We may err in interpreting nature's laws, but if we do discover them in their full import and consequences, we never find exceptions to them.

Another natural law relative to marriage is, that the parties should possess sound constitutions. The punishment for neglecting this law is—that the parties suffer pain and misery in their own persons, from bad health, perhaps become disagreeable companions to each other, feel themselves unfit to discharge the duties of their condition, and transmit feeble constitutions to their children. They are also exposed to pre-

mature death; and of consequence their children are liable to all the melancholy consequences of being left unprotected and unguided by parental experience and affection, at a time when these are most needed. The natural law is, that a weak and imperfectly organized frame transmits one of a similar description to offspring; and, the children inheriting weakness, are prone to fall into disease and die. Indeed, the transmission of various diseases, founded in physical imperfections, from parents to children, is a matter of universal notoriety;—thus, consumption, gout, scrofula, hydrocephalus, rheumatism, and insanity, are well known to descend from generation to generation. Strictly speaking, it is not *disease* which is transmitted, but organs of such imperfect structure, that they are unable to perform their functions properly, and so weak that they are easily put into a morbid condition by causes which sound organs could easily resist.

This subject also belongs to physiology. I have adverted to it in the Constitution of Man, and it is largely expounded by Dr. A. Combe, in his work on Physiology, and by many other authors. I trouble you only with the following remarks, which were transmitted to me by the medical gentleman already repeatedly quoted, who was induced to communicate them by a perusal of the second edition of the Constitution of Man;—"If your work," says he, "has no other effect than that of turning attention to the laws which regulate marriage and transmission of qualities, it will have done a vast service; for on no point are such grievous errors committed. I often see in my own practice, the most lamentable consequences resulting from neglect of these laws. There are certain families which I attend, where the constitutions of both parents are bad, and where, when any thing happens to the children, it is almost impossible to cure them.

An inflamed gland, a common cold, hangs about them for months, and almost defies removal. In other families, where the parents are strong and healthy, the children are easily cured of almost any complaint. I know a gentleman, aged about 50, the only surviver of a family of six sons and three daughters, all of whom, with the exception of himself, died young, of a pulmonary consumption. He is a little man, with a narrow chest, and married a lady of a delicate constitution, and bad lungs. She is a tall, spare woman, with a chest still more deficient than his own. They have had a large family, all of whom die off regularly as they reach manhood and womanhood, in consequence of affections of the lungs. In the year 1833, two sons and a daughter died within a period of ten months. Two still survive, but they are both delicate, and there can be no doubt, that as they arrive at maturity they will follow the rest. This is a most striking instance of punishment under the organic laws."

As to the transmission of the mental qualities, I observe, that form, size, and quality of the brain descend, like those of other parts of the body, from parents to children; and that hence dispositions and talents, which depend upon the condition of the brain, are transmitted also—a fact which has long been remarked both by medical authors, and by observant men in general.

The constitution of the mother seems to exercise the chief influence in determining the qualities of the children, particularly where she is a woman possessing a fine temperament, a well organized brain, and in consequence an energetic mind. There is perhaps hardly an instance of a man of distinguished vigor and activity of mind, whose mother did not possess a considerable amount of the same endowments; and the fact of eminent men having so frequently children far

inferior to themselves, is explicable by the circumstance, that men of talent often marry women whose minds are comparatively weak. When the mother's brain is *very* defective, the minds of the children are inevitably feeble. "We know," says the great German physiologist, Haller, "a very remarkable instance of two noble females who got husbands on account of their wealth, although they were nearly idiots, and from whom this mental defect has extended for a century, into several families, so that some of all their descendants, still continue idiots in the fourth and even in the fifth generation."* In many families, the qualities of both father and mother are seen blended in the children. "In my own case," says a medical friend, "I can trace a very marked combination of the qualities of both parents. My father is a large-chested, strong, healthy man, with a large, but not active brain; my mother was a spare, thin woman, with a high nervous temperament, a rather delicate frame, and a mind of uncommon activity. Her brain I should suppose to have been of moderate size. I often think that to the father I am indebted for a strong frame, and the enjoyment of excellent health, and to the mother for activity of mind, and an excessive fondness for exertion." Finally, it often happens that the mental qualities of the father are transmitted to some of the children, and those of the mother to others.

It is pleasing to observe, that, in Wurtemberg, there are two excellent laws calculated to improve the moral and physical condition of the people, which other states would do well to adopt. First, "It is illegal for any young man to marry before he is twenty-five, or any young woman before she is eighteen." Here the human legislator pays much more deference to the divine lawgiver, than he does in our country.

*Elem. Physiol. Lib. xxix. Sec. 2. § 8.

Secondly, "A young man, at whatever age he wishes to marry, must show to the police and the priest of the commune where he resides, that he is able, and has the prospect, to provide for a wife and family." This also is extremely judicious.

Another natural law in regard to marriage, is, that the mental qualities and the physical constitutions of the parties should *be adapted to each other.* If their tastes, talents, modes of actions, and general habits, harmonize, the reward is domestic felicity, the greatest enjoyment of life. If these differ so widely as to cause jarring and collision, what ought to be the palace of peace, and the mansion of the softest affections of our nature, becomes a theatre of war; and of all states of hostility, that between husband and wife is the most interminable and incurable, because the combatants live constantly together, and have all things in common.

The importance of this law becomes more striking when we attend to the fact, that by ill assortment, not only are the parties themselves rendered unhappy, but their immoral condition directly affects the dispositions of their children. It is a natural law in regard to marriage, that the effects, even of temporary departures from the organic laws, descend to offspring produced during that state, and greatly injure their constitution. Thus—children produced under the influence of inebriety, appear to receive an organization easily affected by the vinous stimulus, for they are observed in after life, to be liable to a craving appetite for stimulating fluids. Children produced when the parents are depressed with misfortune, and suffering under severe nervous debility, are liable to be easily affected by events calculated to induce a similar depression: children produced when the parents are under violent excitement of passion, inherit

a constitution that renders them more liable to exhibit the same tendency: and hence, also, children produced when the parents are happy, moral, and under the excitement of the higher sentiments and intellect, inherit qualities of body and brain that render them naturally disposed to corresponding states of mind. I have stated various facts and authorities in the Constitution of Man, in support of these views, to which I refer. These phenomena are the result of the transmission to the children, of the mental organs modified in size, combination, and condition, by the temporary condition of the parents. This law is subject to modifications from the influence of the hereditary qualities of the parents, but its real existence cannot be doubted.

In my second Lecture, I laid down the principle that man's first duty as an individual, is to acquire knowledge of himself, of external nature, and of the will of God; and I beg your attention to the application of it. If these organic laws relative to marriage be really instituted by the Creator, and if reward and punishment be annexed to each of them, of what avail is it to know these facts abstractly, and to be aware that we have corresponding duties, unless we know those duties in detail, and are enabled to perform them? What we want is, such a knowledge of the human constitution as will carry home to the *understanding* and the *conscience* in youth, what the law of God, written in our frames, and its results, truly are. We want also, the sanction of public sentiment, religion, and civil enactments, to enforce the observance of that law.

In regard to the original constitutions of individuals about to marry, the knowledge of this can be attained only by the study of the structure, functions, and laws of the body. If anatomy and physiology, and their practical application, formed branches of general

education, we should be led to view this subject in all its importance, and where our own skill was insufficient to direct us, we should call in better assistance, and higher experience. It is a general opinion that all such knowledge would be useless, because marriage is determined by fancy, liking, passion, interest, or similar considerations, but never by reason. Phrenology enables us to judge of the force of this objection. It shows that the impulses to marry come from the instinctive and energetic action of the three organs of the domestic affections. They are large, and come into vigorous activity in youth, and frequently communicate such an impulse to the other mental powers, as to enlist them all for the time, in their service. The operation of these faculties, when acting blindly and instinctively, are dignified with various and poetic names, such as fancy, affection, love, and so forth. They are extremely interesting to young men, and young women, and not a little mysterious; which quality adds much to their charms with many minds. But Phrenology, without robbing them of one jot of their real fascinations, dispels the mystery and illusions, and shows them to us as three strong impulses, which will act either conformably to reason, or without its guidance, according as the understanding and moral sentiments are enlightened or left in the dark. It shows us, moreover, disappointment and misery, in every form, and at every stage, as the natural consequence of the unguided;—while happiness of the most enduring and exalted description, is the result of the wise and just direction of them. Believing, as I do, that the Creator has constituted man a rational being, I am prepared to maintain that the very converse of this objection is the true view of human nature, namely, that average men, if *informed*, could not avoid giving effect to the natural

laws in forming marriages. I say average men, because Phrenology reveals to us that some human beings are born with animal organs so large, and moral and intellectual organs so small, that they are the slaves of the propensities, and proof against the dictates of reason. These individuals, however, are not very numerous, and they are not average specimens of the race. If, therefore, before the organs of the domestic affections come into full activity, the youth of both sexes were instructed in the laws of the Creator relative to marriage, if the sanctions of religion were added to the obligation of these laws, and if the opinions of society were directed to enforcing them, I cannot conceive it possible, that, in average men, the propensities would act in disregard of all these guides. The idea implies that man is *not* rational, and that the Creator has laid down laws for him which he is incapable, under any natural guidance, of obeying. This is absurd, and incredible.

I have introduced these remarks, to prepare the way for the observation, that before the discovery of Phrenology, it was impossible to know thoroughly and well, the mental dispositions and capacities of individuals prior to experience of them in actions, and that there was, therefore, an insurmountable difficulty in the way of selection, on sound principles, of partners really adapted to each other, and calculated to render each other happy in marriage. I know that a smile is sometimes excited when it is said that Phrenology puts it in the power of individuals to act rationally in this respect, who could not be certain of doing so without its aid; but it is my firm conviction that it does so.

Not only is there nothing irrational in the idea that Phrenology gives the power of obtaining the requisite knowledge, but on the contrary, there would be a

glaring defect in the moral government of the world, if the Creator had not provided means by which human beings could ascertain, with reasonable certainty, the mental dispositions and qualities of each other, before entering into marriage. He has prompted them, by the most powerful and fascinating of impulses, to form the connection of marriage. He has withheld from them discriminating instincts, to enable them always to choose right; and yet he has attached tremendous penalties to their errors in selection. If he have not provided some means, suited to the rational nature of man, to enable him to guide his impulses to proper objects, I cannot conceive how his government can be reconciled to our notions of benevolence and justice. We must believe that he punishes us for not doing what he has denied us the capacity to do. It is well known, that no method of discovering, with reasonable success, the natural dispositions of human beings has hitherto existed. The general intercourse of society, such as is permitted to young persons of different sexes before marriage, reveals in the most imperfect manner, the real character; and hence the bitter mortification and lasting misery in which the most prudent and anxious occasionally find themselves involved, after the blandishments of a first love have passed away, and when the inherent qualities of the mind begin to display themselves without disguise and restraint. The very fact that human affection continues, in this most unhappy and unsuccessful condition, ought to lead us to the inference that there is some great principle relative to our mental constitution undiscovered, in which a remedy for these enormous evils will be found. The fact that man is a rational creature—who must open up his own way to happiness by means of knowledge—ought to lead us, when misery is found to result from our conduct, to infer

that we have been ignorant or reckless, and that we ought to seek new light, and take greater care in future. Far from its being incredible, therefore, that a method has actually been provided by the Creator, whereby the mental qualities of human beings may be discovered, this supposition appears to be directly warranted by every fact which we perceive, and every result which we experience, connected with his government of the world. If God *have* placed within our reach the means of avoiding unhappy marriages, and if we neglect to avail ourselves of His gift, then are we ourselves to blame for the evils we endure. I cannot too frequently remind you, that every fact, physical and moral, with which we are acquainted, tends to shew that man is comparatively a recent inhabitant of this globe; that as a race, he is yet in his infancy; and you ought no more to be astonished at new and valuable natural institutions, calculated to promote human enjoyment and virtue, evolving themselves from day to day to our understandings, than you are at the obviously increasing intelligence of an individual as he passes from childhood to youth, and from youth to manhood.

I am equally at a loss to discover any reason why it should be thought to be absurd, that the means of discriminating natural qualities, should be presented to us through the medium of the brain. Dr. Thomas Brown has justly remarked, that "to those who have not sufficient elementary knowledge of science, to feel any interest in physical truths, as one connected system, and no habitual desire of exploring the various relations of new phenomena, many of the facts in nature, which have an appearance of incongruity as at first stated, do truly seem ludicrous."

It has been positively ascertained by measurement, that a head not more than thirteen inches in horizon-

tal circumference is invariably attended by idiocy, unless the frontal region be disproportionably large. Dr. Voisin, of Paris, lately made observations on the idiots under his care at the Hospital of Incurables in that city, and found the proposition uniformly confirmed, and that, *ceteris paribus*, the larger the head was, the more distinctly were the mental powers displayed.

It is worthy of remark, that—almost as if to shew an intention that we should be guided by observation of the size and configuration of the brain—the cerebral development is in man extensively indicated during life by the external aspect of the head; while among the lower animals, on the contrary, this is much less decidedly the case. In the hog, elephant, and others, the form and magnitude of the brain are not at all discoverable from the living head. The brutes have no need of the knowledge of each other's dispositions, which is required by man; blind instincts lead them into the proper path; and, as it is probable that a different arrangement has not been adopted in regard to man without an object and a reason, subsequent generations may contemplate it with different eyes from those with which it has been regarded in our day.

To illustrate the possibility of discriminating natural dispositions and talents by means of observation of the head, I may be permitted to allude to my experience of the fact, and to refer particularly to my recent visit to the jail at Newcastle. On 28th October, 1835, I visited that jail, along with Dr. George Fife (who is not a phrenologist) and nine other gentlemen. I examined the head of an individual criminal, and, before any account whatever was given, wrote down my own remarks. At the other side of the table, and at the same time, Dr. Fife wrote down an account of the character and conduct of the crimi-

nal, as disclosed by the judicial proceedings and the experience of the jailor. When both had finished, the writings were compared.

"The first was a young man about 20 years of age, P. S. After stating the organs which predominated and those which were deficient in his brain, I wrote as follows:—'My inference is, that this boy is not accused of violence; his dispositions are not ferocious, nor cruel, nor violent; he has a talent for deception, and a desire for property not regulated by justice. His desires may have appeared in swindling or theft. It is most probable that he has swindled; he has the combination which contributes to the talent of an actor.' The remarks which Dr. Fife wrote were the following:—'A confirmed thief; he has been twice convicted of theft. He has never shewn brutality, but he has no sense of honesty. He has frequently attempted to impose on Dr. Fife; he has considerable intellectual talent; he has attended school, and is quick and apt; he has a talent for imitation.'

"The next criminal was also a young man, aged 18, T. S. I wrote:—'This boy is considerably different from the last. He is more violent in his dispositions; he has probably been committed for an assault connected with women. He has also large Secretiveness and Acquisitiveness, and may have stolen, although I think this less probable. He has fair intellectual talents, and is an improvable subject.' Dr. Fife wrote:—'Crime, rape. * * * * No striking features in his general character; mild disposition; has never shewn actual vice.'

"The third criminal examined was an old man of 73, J. W. The remarks which I wrote were these:—'His moral dispositions generally are very defective; but he has much caution. I cannot specify the precise crime of which he has been convicted. Great

deficiency in the moral organs is the characteristic feature, which leaves the lower propensities to act without control.' Dr. Fife wrote:—'A thief; void of every principle of honesty; obstinate; insolent; ungrateful for any kindness. In short, one of the most depraved characters with which I have ever been acquainted.'

The two young men here described were rather good looking and intelligent in their features, and if judged of simply by their appearance, would have been believed to be rather above than below the average youth of their own rank of life. Yet which of you will say, that if any relative of yours were to be addressed by men of the same dispositions, it would not be more advantageous to possess the means of discovering their real qualities, without marriage, and consequently to avoid them, than to find them out only by experience; in other words, after having become their victim?

I add another illustration. Upwards of ten years ago, I met, for a short time, with an individual who was about to be married to a lady with whom I was acquainted. In writing this piece of news to a friend at a distance, I described the gentleman's development of brain, and dispositions: and expressed my regret that the lady had not made a more fortunate choice. My opinion was at variance with the estimate of the lover made by the lady's friends from their own knowledge of him. He was respectably connected, reputed rich, and regarded as altogether a desirable match. The marriage took place. Time wheeled its ceaseless course; and at the end of about seven years, circumstances occurred of the most painful nature, which recalled my letter to the recollection of the gentleman to whom it had been addressed. He had preserved it, and on comparing it with the

subsequent occurrences, he told me that the description of the character coincided so perfectly with that which these events had developed, that it might have been supposed to have been written after they had happened.

I cannot here enter into the limitations and conditions under which Phrenology should be used for this purpose; such discussions belong to the general subject of that science. My sole aim now is to announce the possibility of its being thus applied. If you will ask any lady who suffers under the daily calamity of a weak, ill-tempered, or incorrigibly rude, and vulgar husband, and who, by studying Phrenology, sees these imperfections written in large and legible characters in his brain, whether she considers that it would have been folly to have observed, and given effect to these indications in avoiding marriage, her sinking and aching heart will answer no! She will pity the flippancy that would despise any counsel of prudence, or treat with inattention any means of avoiding so great a calamity, and declare that, had she known the real character indicated by the head, she could not have consented to become the companion of such a man for life. In fact, we find that sensible men and women in general do direct themselves in their matrimonial choice by the best knowledge which they possess; they avoid glaring bodily defects, and openly bad characters; and what is this, but a complete recognition of the principle for which I am contending? My whole extravagance, (if any of you consider me guilty of such,) consists in proposing to put you in possession of the means of obtaining more minute, accurate, and applicable knowledge, than is at present generally attained, in the belief that you will be disposed to act on that knowledge, as you shew that you are anxious to do on that which

has fallen already in your way. I am willing, therefore, to encounter all the ridicule which may be attached to these views, convinced that those laugh best who win, and that observance of them will render all winners, if they be founded, as I believe them to be, in the institutions of creation.

I stand before you in a singular predicament. Lecturers on recognized science are hailed with rapturous encouragement, when they bring forward new truths; and in proportion as these are practical and important, the higher is their reward. I appear, however, as the humble advocate of a science which is still so far from being universally admitted to be true, that the very idea of applying it practically in a department of human life, in which, hitherto, there has been no guide, must appear to many to be ludicrous. It would be far more agreeable to me to devote my efforts to teaching you doctrines which you should *all* applaud, and which should carry home to your minds a feeling of respect for the judgment of your instructer. But one obstacle prevents me from enjoying this advantage. I have been permitted to become acquainted with a great, and, until lately, an unknown region of truth, which appears to my own mind to bear the strongest impress of a divine origin, and to be fraught with the greatest advantages to mankind, and, as formerly stated, I feel it to be a positive, moral duty, to submit it to your consideration. All I ask is, that you will meet the communication with the spirit and independence of free-minded men. Open your eyes that you may see, your ears that you may hear, and your understandings that you may comprehend, and fear nothing.

LECTURE VI.

ON POLYGAMY: FIDELITY TO THE MARRIAGE VOW: DIVORCE: DUTIES OF PARENTS TO THEIR CHILDREN.

The remarks in my last Lecture, bore reference to the constitution of marriage. Moralists, generally, discuss also the questions of polygamy, fidelity to the marriage vow, and divorce.

On the subject of polygamy, I may remark, that it is generally admitted by Physiologists that the proportions of the sexes born, are thirteen males, to twelve females. From the greater hazards to which the male sex is exposed, this disparity is, in adult life, reduced to equality; indeed, with our present manners, habits, and pursuits, the balance among adults in almost all Europe, is turned the other way, the females of any given age above puberty, preponderating over the males. In some Eastern countries more females than males are born; and it is said that this indicates a design in nature, that *there*, each male, should have several wives. But there is reason to believe that the variation from the proportions of thirteen to twelve is the consequence of departures from the natural laws. In the appendix to the Constitution of Man, I have published some curious observations in regard to the determination of the sexes,

in the lower animals; from which it appears that inequality is the result of unequal strength and age in the parents. In our own country and race, it is observed, that when old men marry young females, the progeny are generally daughters; and I infer that in the Eastern countries alluded to, in which an excess of females exists, the cause may be found in the superior vigor and youth of the females; the practice of polygamy being confined to rich men, who enervate themselves by every form of disobedience to the natural laws, and thereby become physically inferior to the females.

The natural equality of the sexes, therefore, when the organic laws are duly observed, affords one strong indication, that the Creator has not intended to institute polygamy; and the same conclusion is strengthened, by considering the organs of the domestic affections themselves. Harmonious gratification of the three faculties, constituting the domestic group, in accordance with the moral sentiments and intellect, is necessarily attended with the greatest pleasure, and the most advantageous results; but this can be accomplished only by the union of one male with one female. If the male have several wives, there is an excess of gratification provided for the cerebellum, and a diminution of gratification to Adhesiveness and Philoprogenitiveness; for his attachment, diffused among a multitude of objects, can never glow with the intensity, nor act with the softness and purity which inspire it, when directed to one wife and her offspring. The females also, in a state of polygamy, must be deprived of full gratification to their Adhesiveness, for none of them can claim an undivided love. There is injustice to the females, therefore, in the practice; and no institution that is unjust *can* proceed from the Creator. Farther, when we consider

that in married life the pleasures derived from the domestic affections are unspeakably enhanced by the habitual play of the moral feelings, and that polygamy is fatal to the close sympathy, confidence, respect, and reciprocal devotion, which are the attendants of active moral sentiments,—we shall be fully convinced that the Creator has not intended that men should unite themselves to a plurality of wives.

In regard to fidelity to the marriage vow, every argument tending to show that polygamy is forbidden by the natural law, goes to support the incumbent obligation of fidelity. As this point is one on which, fortunately, no difficulty or difference of opinion, among rational persons, exists, I shall not dwell on it, but proceed to the subject of

Divorce. The law of England does not permit divorce in any circumstances, or for any causes. A special act of the legislature must be obtained in that country to annul a marriage, which rule of course limits the privilege to the rich; and we may, therefore, fairly say as a general proposition, that the law denies divorce to the great majority of the people. The law of Scotland permits divorce on account of infidelity to the marriage vow, and also on account of non-adherence, as it is called, or wilful desertion by the husband, of his wife's society for a period of four successive years. The law of Moses permitted the Jewish husband to put away his wife; and under Napoleon, the French law permitted married persons to dissolve their marriage by consent, after giving one year's judicial notice of their intention, and making suitable provisions for their children. The New Testament confines divorce to the single case of infi delity in the wife.

The question now occurs—What does the law of nature, written on our constitutions, enact?

The first fact that presents itself to our consideration, is, that in persons of well constituted minds, nature not only institutes marriage, but makes it indissoluble except by death: even those lower animals which live in pairs, exemplify permanent connection. In regard to man, I remark, that where the three organs of the domestic affections bear a just proportion to each other, and where the moral and intellectual organs are favorably developed and cultivated, there is not only no desire on either side, to bring the marriage tie to an end, but the utmost repugnance to do so. The deep despondency which changes into one unbroken expression of grief and desolation, the whole aspect even of the most determined and energetic men, when they lose by death, the cherished partners of their lives; and that breaking down of the spirit, profoundly felt, although meekly and resignedly borne, which the widow indicates when her stay and delight is removed from her forever, proclaim, in language too touching and forcible to be misunderstood, that where the marriage union is formed according to nature's laws, no civil enactments are needed to render it indissoluble during life. It is clear that life-endurance is stamped upon it, by the Creator, when he renders its continuance so sweet, and its bursting asunder so indescribably painful. It is only where the minds of both or one of the parties are ill-constituted, or where the union is otherwise unfortunate, that any desire for separation exists. The causes which may lead married individuals to desire to terminate their union, may be briefly adverted to.

1. If, in either of them, the cerebellum predominate greatly in size over Adhesiveness, and Philoprogenitiveness, and the moral sentiments, there is a feeling of restraint in the marriage state, which is painful.

To compel, perhaps, a virtuous and amiable partner

to live in inseparable society with a person thus constituted, and to be the unwilling medium of transmitting immoral dispositions to children, appears directly contrary to the dictates of both benevolence and justice. Paley's argument against permitting dissolution of the marriage tie at the will of the husband, is, that "new objects of desire would be continually sought after, if men could, at will, be released from their subsisting engagements. Supposing the husband to have once preferred his wife to all other women, the duration of this preference cannot be trusted to. Possession makes a great difference; and there is *no other* security against the invitations of novelty, than the known impossibility of obtaining the object." This argument is good, when applied to men with unfavorably balanced brains, viz. to those in whom the cerebellum predominates over Adhesiveness, and the moral sentiments; but it is unfounded as a general rule; and the question is, whether it be desirable to deny absolutely, to the great body of the people, as the law of England does, all available means of dissolving the connexion with such beings. It appears not to be so. The husband, certainly, ought not to have the power to dissolve the marriage tie at his pleasure; but the French law seems more reasonable which permitted the parties to dissolve the marriage when both of them, after twelve months' deliberation, and after suitably providing for their children, desired to bring it to a close.

The same argument applies to voluntary dissolution of marriage in cases of irreconcileable differences in temper and dispositions. "The law of nature," says Paley, "admits of divorce in favor of the injured party, in cases of adultery, of obstinate desertion, of attempts upon life, of outrageous cruelty, of incurable madness, and, perhaps, of personal imbecility; but

by no means indulges the same privileges to mere dislike, to opposition of humors, and inclination, to contrariety of taste and temper, to complaints of coldness, neglect, severity, peevishness, jealousy; not that these reasons are trivial, but because such objections may always be alleged, and are impossible by testimony to be ascertained; so that to allow implicit credit to them, and to dissolve marriages whenever either party thought fit to pretend them, would lead in its effects to all the licentiousness of arbitrary divorces."—"If a married pair, in actual and irreconcileable discord, complain that their happiness would be better consulted, by permitting them to determine a connection which is become odious to both, it may be told them, that the same permission, as a general rule, would produce libertinism, dissension, and misery among thousands, who are now virtuous, and quiet, and happy, in their condition; and it ought to satisfy them to reflect, that when their happiness is sacrificed to the operation of an unrelenting rule, it is sacrificed to the happiness of the community."

If there be any truth in Phrenology, this argument is a grand fallacy. Actual and irreconcilable discord arises only from want of harmony in the natural dispositions of the parties, connected with differences in their cerebral organizations; and agreement arises solely from the existence of such harmony. The natures of the parties in the one case differ irreconcileably; but to maintain that if two persons of such discordant minds were permitted to separate, thousands of accordant minds would instantly fly off from each other in a like state of discord, is equally illogical as it would be to assert, that if the humane spectators of a street fight were to separate the combatants, they would forthwith be siezed with the mania of fighting among themselves.

In point of fact, the common arguments on this subject have been written in ignorance of the real constitution of human nature, and are applicable only to particularly constituted individuals. Married persons may be divided into three classes. First, Those whose dispositions naturally accord, and who, in consequence, are happy. Secondly, Those in whom there are some feelings in harmony, but many in discord, and who are in the middle state between happiness and misery; and Thirdly, Those between whose dispositions there is irreconcileable difference, and who are therefore altogether unhappy in each other's society. Paley's views, if applied to persons who are bordering on the middle line of like and dislike towards each other, would be sound. To hold up to such persons extreme difficulty or impossibility in obtaining a dissolution of the marriage tie, will present them with motives to cultivate those feelings in which they agree; while to present them with easy means of terminating it, will lead to reckless aggravation of their quarrels. But this is only one class, and their case does not exhaust the question. Where the union is really accordant in nature, the facility of undoing it will not alter its character, nor produce the desire to destroy the happiness which it engenders. Where it is irreconcileably unsuitable and unhappy, the sacrifice of the parties will not mend their own condition; and as the happy are safe in the attractions of a reciprocal affection, the only persons who can be said to be benefited by the example of the inseparability of the wretched, are the class of waverers to which I have alluded. I humbly think that nature has attached not a few penalties to the dissolution of the marriage tie, which may have some effect on this class; and that these, aided by proper legal impediments to the influence of their caprices, might render the restraints on them sufficient, without calling

for the absolute sacrifice of their completely unhappy brethren as an example to them.

Such a conclusion is greatly strengthened by the consideration that the dispositions of children are determined, in an important degree, by the predominant dispositions of the parents; and that to prevent the separation of wretched couples, is to entail misery on the offspring, not only by the influence of example, but by the transmission to them of ill-constituted brains—the natural result of the organs of the lower feelings being maintained in a state of constant activity in their parents by their dissensions.

The argument that an indissoluble marriage tie, presents motives to the exercise of grave reflection before forming it, would be worthy of some consideration, if persons contemplating marriage possessed *adequate* means of rendering reflection successful; but while the law permits marriage at ages when the parties are destitute of foresight (in Scotland at 14 in males, and at 12 in females,) and while the system of moral and intellectual education pursued in this country furnishes scarcely one sound element of information by which to guide the judgment in its choice, the argument is a mockery at once of reason and of human suffering. It appears to me that until mankind shall be instructed in the views which I am now advocating, in so far as experience shall prove them to be sound, and shall be trained to venerate them as institutions of the divine will, and to practice them in their conduct, they will not possess adequate means of uniformly acting rationally and successfully in forming marriages. While so many sources of error encompass them, as at present, they ought not to be deprived of the possibility of escaping from the pit into which they may have inadvertently fallen ; and not only divorce for infidelity to the marriage vow, but dissolution of mar-

riage by voluntary consent, under proper restrictions, and after due deliberation, ought to be permitted.

Having now considered the general subject of marriage, I proceed to make some remarks on the duties of parents to their children.

Their first duty is to transmit sound constitutions, bodily and mental, to their offspring; and this can be done only by their possessing sound constitutions themselves, and living in habitual observance of the natural laws. I treated of this duty in adverting to the constitution of marriage, and I need not revert to it. It is of high importance; because if great defects be inherent in children at birth, a life of suffering is entailed on them: The iniquities of the fathers are truly visited on the third and fourth generation of those who hate God by disobeying his commandments, written in their frames. It is sufficient here to denounce severely the unprincipled selfishness of those who, for their own gratification, bring into the world beings by whom life cannot fail to be regarded as a burden, if they do so knowingly.

In the next place, parents are bound by the laws of their nature to support, educate, and provide for the welfare and happiness of their children. The foundation of this duty is laid in the constitution of the mind. Philoprogenitiveness, acting along with Benevolence, gives the impulse to its performance, and Veneration and Conscientiousness invest it with all the sanctions of moral and religious obligation. When these organs are adequately possessed, there is a strong desire in parents, (which never slumbers,) to promote the real advantage of their offspring; and in such cases only intellectual enlightenment and pecuniary resources are wanting to ensure its complete fulfilment. Neglect of, or indifference to, this duty, is the consequence of deficiency either in Philoprogenitiveness, in

the moral organs, or in both, and the conduct of individuals thus unfavorably constituted, should not be charged against human nature in general.

The views of Mr. Malthus on population may be adverted to in connexion with the duty of parents to support their family. Stated simply, they are these:—The productive powers of healthy, well fed and well lodged and clothed human beings, are naturally so great, that fully two children will be born for every person who will die within a given time; and as a generation lasts about 30 years, at the end of that period the population will of course be doubled; in point of fact, in the circumstances here enumerated, population is observed actually to double itself in 25 years. This rate of increase takes place in the newly settled and healthy states of North America, independently of immigration. To become aware of the effects which this power of increase would produce in a country of circumscribed territory, like Britain, we need resort only to a very simple calculation. If, for example, Britain in 1800 had contained 12 millions of inhabitants, and this rate of increase had taken place, the population in 1825 would have amounted to 24 millions; in 1850 to 48 millions; in 1875 to 96 millions; in 1900 to 192 millions; and in 1925 to 394 millions; and so on, always doubling every 25 years. Now Malthus maintained that food cannot be made to increase in the same proportion; we cannot *extend the surface* of Britain, for nature has fixed its limits; and no skill nor labor will suffice to augment the productive powers of the soil in a ratio doubling every 25 years. He, therefore, drew the conclusion that the Creator intended that human beings should restrain their productive powers, by the exercise of their moral and intellectual faculties; in other words, should not marry until they were in possession of sufficient means to maintain and

educate a family; and he added, that if this rule were generally infringed, and the practice of marrying early and exerting the powers of production to their full extent became common, in a densely peopled country, Providence would check the increase by premature deaths, resulting from misery and starvation.

This doctrine has been loudly declaimed against; but the question appears very simple. The domestic affections are powerful, and come early into play, apparently to afford a complete guarantee against extinction of the race; but along with them we have received moral sentiments and intellect, bestowed for the evident purpose of guiding and restraining them, so as to lead them to their best and most permanent enjoyments. Now, what authority is there from nature, for maintaining that these affections alone, are entitled to emancipation from moral restraint and intellectual guidance; and that they have a right to pursue their own gratification from the first moment of their energetic existence to the last, if only the marriage vow have been undertaken and be observed? I can see no foundation in reason for this view. From the imperfections of our moral education, we have been led to believe, that if the priest only solemnize a marriage, and the vow of fidelity be observed, there is no sin, although there may be imprudence or misfortune, in rearing a family for whom we are unable to provide. But if we believe in the natural laws, as institutions of the Creator, there is great sin in such conduct. We know that nature has given us strong desires for property, and has fired us with ambition, with the love of splendor, and of many other objects; yet no rational person argues that these desires may, with propriety, be gratified whether we have legitimately the means of doing so or not. Why then should the domestic

affections form an exception to the universal rule of moral guidance and restraint.

Mr. Sadler, a writer on this subject, argues, that marriages naturally become less prolific according as the population becomes more dense, and that in this way the consequences predicted by Malthus are prevented. But this is trifling with the question; for the very misery of which Malthus speaks, is the cause of diminution in the rate of increase. This diminution may be owing either to few children being born, or to many dying early. Now, the causes why few children are born in densely peopled countries are easily traced: some parents finding subsistence difficult of attainment, practice moral restraint and marry late; others are infirm in health, or oppressed with cares and troubles, whereby the fruitfulness of marriages is diminished—but these are instances of misery attending on a dense state of population. Again, it is certain that the mortality of children is in such circumstances unusually great, but the causes of this mortality also are closely connected with density of population. If the opponents of Malthus could shew that there is a law of nature by which the productiveness of marriages is diminished in proportion to the density of the population, *without an increase of misery*, they would completely refute his doctrine. This, however, they cannot do. A healthy couple, who marry at a proper age, and live in comfort and plenty, are able to rear as numerous and vigorous a family in the county of Edinburgh, which is densely peopled, as in the thinly inhabited county of Ross. Mr. Malthus, therefore, does well in bringing the domestic affections, equally with our other faculties, under the control of the moral and intellectual powers.

A reflected light of the intentions of nature in regard to man, may frequently be obtained by observ-

ing the lower animals. Almost all the lower creatures have received powers of increasing their numbers far beyond the voids made by death in the form of natural decay. If we consider the enormous numbers of sheep, cattle, fowls, hares, and other creatures, in the prime of life, that are annually slaughtered for human sustenance, and recollect that the stock of those existing is never diminished, we shall perceive that if every one of these animals which is produced, were allowed to live in a very few years a general desolation, through scarcity of food, would overtake them all. It is intended that these creatures should be put to death, and used as food. Now man, in so far as he is an organized being, closely resembles these creatures, and in the instincts in question he is constituted exactly as they are. But he has obtained the gift of reason, and instead of being intended to be thinned by the knife and violence, like *the animals*, he is invited to increase his means of subsistence by his skill and industry, and to restrain his domestic affections by his higher powers, whenever he reaches the limits of his food. As the mental organs may be enlarged or diminished in the course of generations by habitual exercise or restraint, it is probable that in a densely peopled, and highly cultivated nation, the organs of the domestic affections may diminish in size and activity, and that a less painful effort may then suffice to restrain them than is at present necessary, when the world is obviously young, and capable of containing vastly more inhabitants than yet possess it.

The next duty of parents is, to preserve the life and health of their children after birth, and to place them in circumstances calculated to develope favorably their physical and mental powers. It is inconceivable to what extent human ignorance and wickedness cause this duty to be neglected. "A hundred years

ago," says Dr. A. Combe, "when the pauper infants of London were received and brought up in the workhouses, amidst impure air, crowding, and want of proper food, not above one in twenty-four lived to be a year old; so that out of 2800 annually received into them, 2690 died. But when the conditions of health came to be a little better understood, and an act of Parliament was obtained obliging the Parish officers to send the infants to nurse in the country, this frightful mortality was reduced to 450, instead of 2600!" In 1781, when the Dublin lying-in hospital was imperfectly ventilated, "every sixth child died within nine days after birth, of convulsive disease; and after means of thorough ventilation had been adopted, the mortality of infants, within the same time, in five succeeding years, was reduced to nearly one in twenty." Even under private and maternal care, the mortality of infants is extraordinary. "It appears from the London bills of mortality, that between a fourth and a fifth of all the infants baptized, die within the first two years of their existence. This extraordinary result is not a part of the Creator's designs; it does not occur in the case of the lower animals, and must therefore have causes capable of removal." It is the punishment of gross ignorance and neglect of the organic laws. Before birth, the infant lives in a temperature of 98, being that of the mother: At birth it is suddenly ushered into the atmosphere of a cold climate; and among the poorer classes through want, and among the richer through inattention, it is often left very inadequately protected against the effects of this sudden change. In the earlier stages of infancy, improper food, deficient ventilation, deficient cleanliness, and want of general attention, consign many to the grave; while in childhood and youth, great mischief to health and life are often occasioned by infringement of the organic

laws. In a family which I knew in youth, two sons, of apparently promising constitutions, fell victims to consumption; and both had slept during the years of youth, in a very small bed closet, with a window consisting of a single pane of glass, which was so near to the bed that it could never be opened with safety to their lungs, during night. Breathing the atmosphere of so small an apartment, for seven or eight hours in succession, directly tended to bring down the vigor of the respiratory organs, and to injure the tone of the whole system. The effect of this practice was to prepare the lungs to yield to the first unfavorable influence to which they might be exposed, and accordingly when such occurred, both fell victims to pulmonary disease. Similar cases are very abundant; and the ignorance which is the root of the evil is the more fatal, because the erroneous practices which undermine the constitution operate slowly and insidiously, and even after the results are seen, their causes are neither known nor suspected. For many years a lady known to me, was troubled with frequent and severe headachs, which she was unable to get rid of; but having been instructed in the functions of the lungs, the constitution of the atmosphere, and the bad effects of improper food and a sedentary life, she removed from the very confined bedroom which she had occupied for many years, to one that was large and airy,—and began to take regular exercise in the open air, and to practise discrimination with respect to her food; and since that time, nearly ten years ago, her general health has been vastly improved, and headachs very seldom occur.

When you study this subject with a view to practice, you will find that the principles which I laid down in the first Lecture, are of great importance as guides, namely, that each organ of the body has receiv-

ed a definite constitution, and that health is the result of the harmonious and favorable action of them all.—Hence, it is not sufficient to provide merely airy bedrooms for children, if at the same time the means of cleanliness be neglected, or their brains be over-exerted in attending too many classes, and learning too many tasks: the delicate brain of youth demands frequent repose. In short, a real practical knowledge of the laws of the human constitution is highly conducive to the successful rearing of children; and the heart-rending desolation of parents, when they see the dearest objects of their love successively torn from them by death, ought to be viewed as the chastisement of ignorance or negligence alone, and not as proofs of the world being constituted unfavorably for the production of human enjoyment. Parents, however, ought not, in this matter, to look to *their own* happiness merely; they are under solemn obligations to the children whom they have chosen to bring into the world. Improper treatment in infancy and childhood, at which period the body grows rapidly, is productive of effects far more prejudicial and permanent than at any subsequent age; and assuredly those parents are not guiltless who wilfully keep themselves in ignorance of the organic laws, or, knowing these, refrain from acting in accordance with them in the rearing of their children. The latter have a positive claim (which no parent of right feeling will disregard or deny) on those who have forced existence upon them that they shall do all in their power to render it comfortable.

Perhaps some may think that the importance of obedience to the organic laws has been insisted on more than the subject required. Such an idea is natural enough, considering that an exposition of these laws forms no part of ordinary education, and that obedience to them is enjoined by no human authority.

There is no trace of them in the statute book, none in the catechisms issued by authority of the Church, and you rarely, if ever, hear them mentioned as laws of God, by his servants who teach his will from the pulpit. Nay, even the general tongue of society, which allows few subjects to escape remark, is silent with regard to them. Hence, it is probable that the importance of obeying the organic laws may to some appear to be over-estimated in these Lectures; but the universal silence which prevails in society has its source in ignorance. Physiology is still unknown to nineteen-twentieths even of educated persons, and to the mass it is a complete *terra incognita*. Even by medical men it is little studied as a practical science, and the idea of its beneficial application as a guide to human conduct in general, has rarely entered into their imaginations. If to all this we add, that until Phrenology was discovered, the dependence of mental talents and dispositions on cerebral development was scarcely even suspected,—and that belief in this truth is still far from being universal,—the silence which prevails with respect to the organic laws, and neglect of them in practice, will not seem unaccountable.

On this subject I would observe, that there is a vast difference between the uncertain and the unascertained. It is now universally admitted, that all the movements of matter are regulated by laws; and that they are never uncertain, although the laws which they observe, may, in some instances, be unascertained. The revolutions of the planets can be predicated, while those of some of the comets are as yet unknown; but no philosopher imagines that the latter are uncertain. The minutest drop of water that descends the mighty fall of Niagara, is regulated in all its movements by definite laws, whether it rise in mist, and float in the atmosphere to distant regions,

there to descend as rain; or be absorbed by a neighboring shrub, and reappear as an atom in a blossom adorning the Canadian shore, or be drunk up by a living creature, and sent into the wonderful circuit of its blood; or to become a portion of an oak, which at a future time shall career on the ocean. Nothing can be less ascertained, or probably less ascertainable by mortal study, than the motions of such an atom; but every philosopher will, without one moment's hesitation, concede that not one of them is uncertain.* The first element of a philosophic understanding, is the capacity of extending the same conviction to the events evolved in every department of nature. A man who sees disease occurring in youth or middle age, and whose mind is not capable of perceiving that it is the result of imperfect or excessive action in some vital organ, and that imperfect or excessive action is just another name for deviation from the proper healthy state of that organ, is not capable of reasoning. It may be true that, in many instances, our knowledge is so imperfect, that we are incapable of unfolding the chain of connection between the disease and its organic cause; but he is no philosopher, who doubts the *reality* of the connection.

One reason of the obscurity that prevails on this subject in the mind of persons not medically educated is, ignorance of the structure, and functions of the body; and another is, that diseases appear under two very distinct forms—structural, and functional: only the first of which is understood by common observers to constitute a proper organic malady. If an arrow be shot into the eye, there is derangement of the structure, and the most determined opponent of the natural laws, will at once admit the connection be-

* I owe this forcible illustration to Dr. Chalmers, having first heard it in one of his Lectures.

tween the blindness which ensues, and the lesion of the organ. But if a watchmaker or an optical instrument maker, by long continued, and excessive exertion of the eye, have become blind, the disease is called functional; the function, from being over-stimulated, has given way, but frequently, no alteration of structure can be perceived. No philosophic physiologist, however, doubts that there *is* a change in the structure corresponding to the functional derangement, although human observation cannot detect it. He never says that it is nonsense to assert that the patient has become blind in consequence of infringement of the organic laws. It is one of these laws that the function of the eye shall be exercised moderately, and it is a breach of that law to strain it to excess. The same principle applies to a large number of diseases occurring under the organic laws. Imperfections in the tone, structure, or proportion of certain organs may exist at birth, so hidden by their situation, or so slight, as not to be readily perceptible, but not the less, on that account, real and important; or deviations may be made gradually and imperceptibly from the proper and healthy exercise of the functions, and from one or other cause, disease may invade the constitution. Religious persons term disease occurring in this occult manner a dispensation of God's providence; the careless name it an unaccountable event; but the physician invariably views it as the result of imperfect or excessive action of some organ or another, and he never doubts that it has been caused by deviations from the laws which the Creator has prescribed for the regulation of the animal economy. The objection that the doctrine of the organic laws which I have been inculcating is unsound, because diseases come and go, without uneducated persons being able to trace their causes, has not a shadow

of philosophy to support it. I may err in my exposition of these laws, but I hope I do not err in stating that neither disease nor death, in early or middle life, can take place under the ordinary administrations of Providence, except when these laws have been infringed.

My reason for insisting so largely on this subject, is, a profound conviction of the importance of the organic laws. They are fundamental to happiness; that is, the consequences of errors in regard to them cannot be compensated for, or removed by, any other means than obedience. I see daily melancholy results of inattention to their dictates, which are truly distressing. When you observe the husband, in youth or middle age, removed by death, from the partner of his love, and the other dear objects of his affections; or when you see the mother at a similar age torn from her infant children, her heart bleeding at the thought of leaving them in the hand of the stranger, while they most needed her maternal care,—consider that the cause of the calamity is either that the dying parent inherited a defective constitution in consequence of disobedience by his parents to the organic laws, or that he himself has infringed them grievously. If, therefore, we desire to diminish this class of calamities, we must study and obey the organic laws. As these laws operate independently of all others, we may manifest the piety of angels, and yet suffer if we neglect them. I repeat, therefore, that if there be any remedy on earth for this class of evils, it is obedience to the laws of our constitution, and this alone.

Again,—If we see the lovely infant snatched from the mother's bosom by the hand of death, while it caused every affection of her mind to thrill with joy, and fed her hopes with the fondest and brightest visions of its future talent, virtue, and success,—let us trace the cause,

we shall find that the organic laws have been infringed. If you see an aged man walking with heavy step, and deep dejected mien, the nearest follower after a bier adorned with white,—it is a father carrying to the grave his first-born son, the hope and stay of his life, torn from him in the full bloom of manhood, when already he had eased the hoary head of half its load of care. The cause of this scene also, is infringement of the organic laws.

Or open with me the door of some family parlor, where we expect to meet with peace and joy, blessing and endearment, as the natural accompaniments of domestic life, and see discord, passion, disappointment, and every feeling that embitters existence, depicted on the countenances of the inmates. The cause is still infringement of the organic laws. Two persons have married whose brains differ so widely that there is not only no natural sympathy between them, but absolute contradiction in their dispositions. This discord might have been read in their brains before they were united for life.

Or, look on another scene,—You may observe several persons of either sex, in middle life, gravely sitting in anxious deliberation. They are the respectable members of a numerous family, holding consultation on the measures to be adopted in consequence of one of their number having become insane, or having given himself up to irreclaimable drunkenness, or to some worse species of immorality. Their feelings are deeply wounded, their understandings are perplexed, and they know not what to do. The cause is still the same,—the unfortunate object of their solicitude has inherited a defective brain; it has yielded to some exciting cause, and he has lost his reason; or he has given way to a headlong appetite for intoxicating liquors, in consequence of one or other of his parents

having labored under a similar influence at the commencement of his existence; and it has now become an actual disease. The organic laws have been infringed; and this scene also is a form in which the Creator indicates to his creatures that his laws have been transgressed. If you make a catalogue of human miseries, and inquire how many of them spring directly or indirectly from infringement of the organic laws, you will be astonished at their extent.

If, then, these laws be fundamental,—if the consequences of disobeying them be so formidable, and if escape be so impossible, you will forgive the anxiety with which I have endeavored to expound them. I might draw pictures the converse of all that I have here represented, and shew you health, long life, happiness and prosperity, as the rewards of obeying these and the other natural laws, and I should still be justified by philosophy; but the principle, if admitted, will carry home these counter results to your own understandings. I may farther remark, that all philosophy and theology which have been written by men ignorant of these laws, may be expected to be imperfect, and, therefore, that we are arrogating no undue superiority in refusing to yield the convictions of our own judgments to the dictates of their intellects, (however admirable in native vigor,) when they had no sound data on which to proceed. The events of human life viewed through the medium of their principles, and of the philosophy which I am now expounding, must appear in very different lights. In their eyes many events appear inscrutable, which to us are clear. According to our view an allwise and beneficent Creator has bestowed reason on us,—the highest of his terrestrial creatures,—and he has arranged the whole world as a theatre for its exercise. He has placed before us examples without number, of his power, wisdom

and goodness, and left us to apply our faculties to study them and to act in harmony with them, and then to live and be happy; or to neglect them and to suffer. Each of you will approve of that system which appears to be best founded in truth, and to tend most to the glory of God. I ask no man to yield his conscience and his understanding to my opinions; but only solicit liberty to announce what to myself appears to be true, that it may be received, or rejected, according to its merits.

In concluding, it is proper to add one observation. Mankind have lived so long without becoming acquainted with the organic laws, and have, in consequence, so extensively transgressed them, that there are few individuals in civilized society, who do not bear in their own persons, in a greater or less degree, imperfections derived from this source. It is impossible, therefore, even for the most anxious disciples of the new doctrine, all at once to yield perfect obedience to these laws. If none were to marry in whose family stock, and in whose individual person, any traces of serious departures from the organic laws were to be found, the civilized world would become a desert. The return to obedience must be gradual, and the accomplishment of it, the result of time. After these laws are unfolded to any man's discernment, he is not guiltless if he completely disregard them, and commit flagrant violations of their dictates. We are all bound, if we believe them to be instituted by God, to obey them as far as is in our power; but we cannot command all external circumstances. We are bound to do the best we can; and this, although not all that could be desired, is often much; and we shall never miss an adequate reward, even for our imperfect obedience.

It is deeply mysterious, that man should have been so created, as to err for thousands of years through

ignorance of his own constitution, and the laws under which he suffers or enjoys; but it is equally mysterious that the globe itself underwent the successive revolutions revealed by Geology, destroying myriads of living creatures, and extinguishing whole races of beings before man appeared! It is equally mysterious, also, why it presents such striking inequalities of soil and climate,—in some regions so beautiful, so delightful, so prolific; in others so dreary, sterile, and depressing! It is equally mysterious, that man has been created a mortal creature, living even at the best, but for a season on the earth, and then yielding his place to a successor, whose tenure will be brief as his own. These are mysteries which reason cannot penetrate, and for which fancy cannot account; but they all relate, not to our conduct here, but to the will of God our maker, in the creation of the universe. Although we cannot unravel the counsels of the Omnipotent, this is no reason why we should not study and obey his laws. What he has presented to us in creation, we are bound to accept with gratitude at his hand as a gift; but in using it, we are called on to exercise our reason, the noblest of his boons,—and we may rest assured that no impenetrable darkness will hang over the path of our duty when we shall have fairly opened our eyes and our understandings to the study of his works. There is no difficulty in believing that man, having received reason, was intended to use it,—that by neglecting to do so, he should have suffered, and that, when he shall duly employ it, his miseries will diminish; and this is all that I am now teaching. It is inexplicable why we should not earlier have gone into the road that leads to happiness; but let us not hesitate to enter it now, if we see it fairly opened before us.

LECTURE VII.

DUTY OF PARENTS TO EDUCATE THEIR CHILDREN, AND TO FIT THEM OUT IN THE WORLD.

Next to the duty of providing for the physical health and enjoyment of their children, parents are bound to train and educate them properly, so as to fit them for the discharge of the duties of life. The grounds of this obligation are obvious. The human body and mind may be viewed as a large assemblage of functions and faculties, possessing native energy and extensive spheres of action, each capable of being used or abused, according as it is directed. The extent of range of these powers, is a prime element in the dignity of man, yet it is this which renders education so important. As parents are the authors and guardians of the beings thus endowed, it is clearly their duty to train their faculties, and to direct them to their proper objects. "To send an uneducated child into the world," says Paley, "is little better than to turn out a mad dog, or a wild beast, into the streets."

To direct education properly, it is necessary to know the physical and mental constitution of the being to be educated, and also the world in which he is to be an actor. Generally speaking, the former knowledge is not possessed, and the latter object is very little regarded by parents in the education of their children. How many parents are able to call up to

their own minds any satisfactory view of the mental faculties, with their objects and spheres of activity, which they aim at training in their children? How many add to this knowledge, an acquaintance with the physical constitution of the human being, and of the kind of treatment which is best calculated to develope favorably, its energies and capabilities? Nay, who can point out even a body of professional teachers who are thus highly accomplished? I fear none of us can do so. I do not blame either parents or teachers for the present imperfect state of their knowledge, because they were not themselves taught; indeed, the information here described did not exist a few years ago, and it exists but very imperfectly still. Ignorance, therefore, is our misfortune, as much as our fault; and my sole object in adverting to its magnitude is to present us all with motives to remove it. While it continues so profound and extensive as it has hitherto in general been, sound and salutary education can no more be accomplished, than you can cause light to shine forth out of darkness. Scotland has long boasted of her superior education; but her eyes are now opening to the fallacy of this idea. In May, 1835, Dr. Welsh told the nation in the General Assembly, that Protestant Germany, and even some parts of Catholic Germany, are in that respect far before us. The public mind is becoming so much alive to our deficiencies, that better prospects open up for the future. The details of education cannot here be entered into; but it may be remarked, that Phrenology points out the necessity of training the propensities and sentiments, as well as cultivating and instructing the understandings of children. For accomplishing these ends, Infant Schools on Mr. Wilderspin's plan are admirably adapted. The objects of education are—to strengthen each faculty that is

too weak, to restrain those which are too vigorous, to store the intellect with moral, religious, scientific and general knowledge, and to direct all to their proper objects. In cultivating the intellect, we should bear in view that external nature is as directly adapted to our different intellectual powers, as light is to the eye, and that the whole economy of our constitution is arranged on the principle that we shall study the qualities and relations of external objects, apply them to our use, and also adapt our conduct to their operation. The three great means of education are domestic training, public schools, and literature or books. The first will be improved by instructing parents, and the second by the diffusion of knowledge among the people at large; while the third is now—through the efforts of those philanthropists who have given birth to really cheap moral and scientific literature, (particularly the Messrs. Chambers of Edinburgh)—placed within the reach of every class of the community.

The Messrs. Chambers have lately added to their other means of instruction, a series of cheap books on education, in which the lights of modern knowledge are brought together to illuminate, and render practical, this interesting subject. Europe is, at this moment, only waking out of the slumbers of the dark ages; she is beginning to discover that she is ignorant, and to desire instruction. The sun of knowledge, however, is still below the horizon to vast multitudes of our British population, but they are startled by a bright effulgence darting from a radiant sky; and they now know that that light is the dawn of a glorious day, which will tend to terminate their troubled dreams of ignorance and folly. Let us help to arouse them,—let us lead them to pay their morning orisons in the great temple of universal truth. When they shall have entered into that temple, let us introduce them

to nature and to nature's God; and let us hasten the hour when the whole human race shall join together, to celebrate his power, wisdom, and goodness, in strains which shall never cease, till creation pass away; for we know that the sun of knowledge, unlike the orb of day, when once risen, will never set, but will continue to emit brighter and brighter rays, till time shall be no more. In eternity, alone, can we conceive the wonders of creation to be completely unfolded, and the mind of man to be satiated with the fulness of information.

In the present course of Lectures I am treating merely of *duties*, and when I point out to you the foundation and extent of the duty of educating your children, it is all that I can accomplish. I cannot here discuss the *manner* in which you may best discharge this obligation. This instruction can be obtained only by a thorough education of your own minds, and the courses of lectures provided by the philosophical association, are admirable auxiliaries to the attainment of this end. After you have become acquainted with Anatomy and Physiology as the keys to the physical constitution of man; with Phrenology as the development of his mental constitution; with chemistry, natural history, and natural philosophy, as expositions of the external world; and with political economy, and moral philosophy, as the sciences of human action, you will be in possession of the rudimentary or elementary knowledge, necessary to enable you to comprehend and profit by a course of lectures on practical education, which is really the application of this knowledge to the most important of all purposes, that of training the body to health, and the mind to virtue, intelligence, and happiness. I hope that the directors of this association will hereafter induce some qualified lecturer to undertake such a

course; but I beg leave to express my humble conviction that no error is more preposterous than that which leads many persons to suppose that *without this preliminary* or elementary knowledge, parents can be taught *how* to educate their children successfully. The process of education obviously consists in training faculties, and communicating knowledge; and it appears to me to be about as hopeless a task to attempt to perform this duty by mere rules and directions, as it was for the Israelites to make bricks in Egypt without straw. I am the more anxious to insist on this point, because no error is more common in the practical walks of life, than the belief that a parent may be taught how to educate a child without undergoing the labor of educating himself. Many parents of both sexes, but particularly mothers, have told me that if I would lecture on Education, they would come and hear me, because they considered the education of their children to be a duty, and were disposed to sacrifice the time necessary for obtaining instruction to discharge it. When I recommended to them to begin by studying Physiology, Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, and Phrenology, at least to so great an extent as to be able to comprehend what the body and mind, which they proposed to train, are, and the nature of the objects by which the mind and body are surrounded, and on which education is intended to enable them to act,—they instantly declared that they had no time for these extensive enquiries, that information about *education* was what they wanted, as *it* alone was necessary to their object. In vain I told them that these were preliminary steps to any available knowledge of education.—They were so ignorant of mind and of all its faculties and relations, that they could not conceive this to be the case, and refused to attend these courses of

instruction. If I could succeed in persuading you of the truth of this view, the permanence of this association, and the success of its lectures, would be secured; because the industrious citizens of Edinburgh, would prize it as a grand means of preparing their own minds for the important duty of educating their children, and would no longer come here merely to be amused, or to pass an idle hour; but would regard every science taught by this association, as a step towards the attainment of the most important object of human life,—that of training the young to health, intelligence, virtue, and enjoyment.

The next duty of Parents is to provide suitably for the outfit of their children in the world. If I am right in my fundamental principles, that happiness consists in well regulated activity of the various functions of the body and mind, and that the world is designedly arranged by the Creator, with a view to the maintenance of our powers in this condition of activity,—it follows that a parent who shall have provided a good constitution for his child, preserved him in sound health,—have thoroughly educated, and also trained him to some useful calling,—and have supported him until he have become capable of exercising that calling,—will have discharged the duty of maintenance in its highest and best sense. I regard it as of much importance to children to give them correct views of the real principles, machinery and objects of life, and to train them to act systematically in their habitual conduct.

What should we think of a merchant who should embark himself, his wife, family, and fortune, on board of a ship;—who should take the command of it himself, and set sail on a voyage of speculation, without knowledge of navigation, without charts of the ocean, and without having any particular port in view

as his destination? We should consider him as a lunatic; and yet many men launch forth on the sea of active life, as ill provided with knowledge and objects, as the individual here imagined. Suppose, however, our adventurous navigator to use the precaution of placing himself under convoy, to attach himself to a fleet, and to sail when they sailed, and to stop where they stopped, we should still lament his ignorance, and reckon the probabilities great of his running foul of his companions in the voyage, foundering in a storm, being wrecked on shoals or sunken rocks, or making an unproductive speculation even if he safely attained a trading port. This last simile appears to me to be scarcely an exaggeration of the condition in which young men in general embark in the business of the world. The great mass of society is the fleet to which they attach themselves; it is moving onwards, and they move with it; sometimes it is favored with prosperity, sometimes overtaken by adversity, and they passively undergo its varying fates; sometimes they make shipwreck of themselves by running foul of their neighbors' interests, or by deviating from the course, and encountering hazards peculiarly their own; but in all they do, and in all they suffer, they obey an impulse from without, and rarely have intelligible objects and a systematic plan of pursuit for the guidance of their own proceedings. If you consider that this moving mass called society is only a vast assemblage of individuals, nearly all equally ignorant, and that the impulses which they obey, are merely the desires of the most energetic minds, pursuing, often blindly, their individual advantage, you cannot be surprised at the strange gyrations which society has so often exhibited. In rude ages, the leaders loved "the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war," and the mass moved to the sound of the trumpet, and the clang of arms. In

our day, the leaders steer to wealth and fame, and the mass toils after them as best it may. In one year a cotton mania seizes the leaders, and vast portions of the mass are infected with the disease. In another year a mania for joint stock companies attacks them, and their followers again catch the infection. In these varying aspects of social movements, we discover nothing like a well considered scheme of action, adopted from knowledge, and pursued to its results. The leaders of the mass appear equally to be moved by impulses which control and correct each other by collision and concussion, but in each of which thousands of individuals are crushed to death, although the mass escapes, and continues to move forward in that course which corresponds to the direction of the last force which was applied to it.

It appears to me, that by correct and enlarged knowledge of human nature, and of the external world, the young might be furnished with a chart and plan of life, suited to their wants, desires, and capacities, as rational beings, which would enable them, if they possessed energy to become leaders, to steer the social course with greater precision, safety, and advantage, than in bygone times; or, if they were humble members of the mass, to shape their individual courses, so as in some degree to avoid the collisions and concussions which reckless ardor, in alliance with ignorance, is ever producing. A young man, if properly instructed, should commence active life with a clear perception of the results to which the various courses of action submitted to his choice, are calculated to lead, and the steps by which these results are in general evolved. This advantage, however, is rarely possessed, and the young are left to grope their way, or to join the convoy and sail with the fleet, as they prefer.

Under the present system of instinctive or imitative

action, one or other of two errors generally infects the youthful mind. If the parents have long struggled with pecuniary difficulties, and suffered under the depression of poverty, but ultimately, after much exertion and painful self-denial, have attained to easy circumstances,—they teach their children almost to worship wealth, and fill their minds, at the same time, with vivid ideas of laborious exertion, sacrifices, difficulties, cares and troubles, as almost the only occurrences of life. The idea of enjoyment is closely allied with that of sin; and young persons thus trained, if they possess well constituted brains, often become rich, but rarely reap any reasonable satisfaction from their earthly existence. They plod, and toil, and save, and invest; but cultivate neither their moral nor intellectual faculties; and at the close of life complain that all is vanity and vexation of spirit. The second error is diametrically the opposite. Parents of easy, careless dispositions, who have either inherited wealth, or been successful in business, without much exertion, generally teach their children the art of enjoying life without that of acquiring the means of doing so; and such children enter into trade or engage in professions under the settled conviction, (not conveyed by their parents, perhaps, in direct terms, but insensibly instilled into their minds by example,) that the paths of life are all level, clear, and smooth; that they need only to put the machinery of business into motion, and that thereafter, all will go softly forward, affording them funds and leisure for enjoyment, with little anxiety, and very moderate exertion. Young persons, thus instructed, if they do not possess uncommonly large organs of Cautiousness and Conscientiousness, go gaily on in active life for a brief space of time, and then become the victims of a false system, and of inexperience. They are ruined, and suffer countless privations. The

errors of both of these modes of training the young should be avoided.

After health, education, and virtuous habits, the best provision that a parent can make for his son, is to furnish him with sound views of his real situation as a member of the social body. The Creator having destined man to live in society, the social world is so arranged that an individual, illuminated by a knowledge of the laws which regulate social prosperity, by dedicating himself to a useful pursuit, and fulfilling ably the duties of it, will meet with very nearly as certain a reward, in the means of subsistence and enjoyment, as if he raised his food directly from the soil. There are astonishing regularity and stability discoverable in the movements of the social world, when its laws of action are understood. The laborer, artisan, manufacturer, and professional practitioner, find the demands for their labor, goods, or other contributions to the social welfare, to follow one after another with constancy and regularity, so that with ability, attention, and morality, they are very rarely indeed left unprovided for. It is of great importance, to press home this truth on the minds of the young, and to open their understandings to a perception of the causes which operate in producing this result, that they may enter into active life with a just reliance on the wisdom and goodness of the Creator, in providing the means of subsistence and enjoyment for all who discharge their social duties; and yet with a feeling of the necessity of knowledge, and of the practice of that moral discipline which enforces activity and good conduct at every step, as the natural and indispensable conditions of success.

In our own country, the duty of teaching sound and practical views of the nature of man as an individual, and of the laws which regulate his social condition, to

the young, has become doubly urgent since the passing of the reform act. Under the previous system of government, only the wealthy were allowed to exercise the political franchise; and as education was a pretty general concomitant of wealth,—power and knowledge, (so far as knowledge existed,) were to a great degree united in the same hands. Now, however, when great property is no longer indispensable to the exercise of political power, it is necessary to extend and improve general education. The middle classes of this country have, in their own hands, the power of returning a majority of the House of Commons, and as the Commons hold the strings of the national purse, and when nearly unanimous, exercise an irresistible influence in the state, it is obvious that those who elect them, ought to be educated and rational men. In past ages, government has been conducted too often on short sighted, empirical principles, and rarely on the basis of a sound and comprehensive philosophy of man's nature and wants; and hence, the wars undertaken for futile and immoral purposes; hence, the heavy taxes which oppress industry, and obstruct prosperity; hence, also, the restrictions, protections, and absurd monopolies, which disgrace the statute book of the nation,—all which are not only direct evils, but are still more injurious, because war has absorbed the funds, and ignorant legislation has consumed the time and mental energy, which, under a better system, would have been dedicated to the improvement of all national and public institutions.—Henceforth the government of this country must be animated by, and act up to, the general intelligence of the country; but it will be impossible for it to advance to any considerable extent beyond it. Every patriotic individual, therefore, will find in this fact an additional motive to qualify himself for expanding the minds,

and directing the steps, of the rising generation, that Britain's glory and happiness may pass untarnished, and unimpaired, to the remotest posterity of virtuous and enlightened men.*

The question next arises, What provision in money or land is a parent bound to make for his children? To this no answer, that would suit all circumstances, can be given. As parents cannot carry their wealth to the next world, it must of course be left to some one; and the natural feelings of mankind seem to dictate that it should be given to those who stand nearest in kindred and highest in merit in relation to the testator. With respect to children, in ordinary circumstances, this cannot be questioned; for it is clearly the duty of parents to do all in their power to make *happy* the existence of those whom they have brought into the world. But difference of customs in different countries, and difference of ranks in the same country, render different principles of *distribution* useful and proper. In Britain, a nobleman who should distribute £100,000 equally among ten children, would do great injustice to his eldest son, to whom a title of nobility would descend, with its concomitant expenses; but a merchant who had realized £100,000, would act more wisely and justly in leaving £10,000 to each of ten children, than in attempting to found a family by entailing £82,000 on his eldest son, and

* The remarks in the text apply with still greater force to the United States of America. In this country, the supreme political power is wielded by the mass of the people. No rational person will maintain that one ignorant man is a proper ruler for a great nation; but additions to numbers do not alter the species. Twenty, or a hundred, or a thousand ignorant men, are not wiser than one of them; while they are much more dangerous. They inflame each other's passions,—keep each other's follies in countenance, and add to each other's strength. If the United States, therefore, desire to avoid anarchy and ruin, they must educate the mass of their people.

leaving only £2000 to each of the other nine. I consider hereditary titles as an evil to society, and desire their abolition; but while they are permitted to exist, the distribution of wealth should bear reference to the expenses which they necessarily entail on those who inherit them. The United States of America have wisely avoided this institution; and by the laws of most of these States, an equal distribution of the family estate, real and personal, among all the children, ensues on the death of the parents. This practice appears to me to be wise and salutary. It tends to lessen that concentration of all thought and desire on the fortune of the individual, and teaches the richest man to perceive that the prosperity of his children is indissolubly linked with that of his country. As a general rule, parents ought to make the largest provisions for those members of their families who are least able, from sex, constitution, capacity, or education, to provide for themselves.

In the lower ranks of life, where both sexes engage in labor, an equal distribution may, other circumstances being equal, be just; in the middle ranks, in which it is the custom for males to engage in business, but in which females do not, in general, labor, if the parents have a numerous family and moderate fortune, I should consider the sons amply provided for, by furnishing them with education and a calling; while the property of the parents should be given chiefly to the daughters. It is impossible, however, as I have already hinted, to lay down rules that will be universally applicable.

It is a grave question whether the indefinite accumulation of wealth ought to be allowed; but, however this may be determined, there ought to be no restriction on the power of spending and disposing of property. Entails are a great abuse, introduced by Self-

Esteem and Love of Approbation acting apart from Benevolence and Conscientiousness. The Creator has obviously intended that wealth should be enjoyed only on the condition of the exercise of at least average discretion by its possessor; yet the object of entails is to secure it and its attendant influence, to certain heirs, altogether independently of personal intelligence, morality, and prudence. Laws have been enacted by which it is contemplated that estates should be transmitted unimpaired from sire to son, through endless generations, although each possessor, in his turn, may be a pattern of vice, and imbecility. But the law of nature is too strong to be superseded by the legislation of ignorant and presumptuous men. The children of intelligent, virtuous and healthy parents, are so well constituted as to need no entails to preserve their family estates and honors unimpaired; while, on the other hand, children with immoral dispositions are prone, in spite of the strictest entail, to tarnish that glory and distinction which the law vainly attempts to keep in brightness. Accordingly, many families, where a good mind descends, flourish for centuries without entails; whereas others, in which immoral or foolish minds are hereditary, live in constant privation, notwithstanding the props of erroneous laws: each immoral heir of entail mortgages his life-rent right, and lives a beggar and an outcast from his artificial sphere of life. The organic laws afford the only means acknowledged by the Creator, of maintaining family possessions undissolved, and until men shall resort to obedience to them, as the means of preserving a great, virtuous, and flourishing posterity, they will in vain frame acts of Parliament to attain this object.

Parents have *rights* as well as *duties* in relation to their children. They are entitled to the produce of the child's labor during its non-age; to its respect and

obedience; and, when infirm, to maintenance, if necessary. These rights on the part of parents imply corresponding duties incumbent on the children. The obligation on the children to discharge them, flows directly from the dictates of Veneration, Conscientiousness, and Benevolence. It has often been objected to Phrenology that it presents no organ of filial piety. It points to the three moral organs as contributing to the fulfilment of duty to parents. Veneration dictates reverence, respect, and obedience; Conscientiousness dictates gratitude, or a return for all their care and affection; while Benevolence leads to the promotion of their happiness, by every possible means. Adhesiveness binds old and young in the bonds of reciprocal attachment.

In the lower and middle ranks of life, the want of respect and obedience on the part of children is extensively complained of; but the general cause of this evil is the want of sufficient knowledge and goodness in the parents to render them really objects of respect to the higher sentiments of their children. The mere fact of being father or mother to the child, is obviously not sufficient to excite its moral affections. The parent must manifest superior wisdom and intelligence, and also a disposition to promote its welfare; and then respect and obedience will be the natural fruits. The attempt to render a child respectful and obedient by merely telling it to be so, is not less absurd than would be the endeavor to make it fond of music by assuring it that filial duty requires that it should be so. We must present music itself to the faculty of Tune; and in like manner the moral sentiments must be addressed by *their* appropriate objects. Harsh conduct tends strongly to rouse the faculties of Combativeness, Destructiveness, and Self-Esteem; while the moral sentiments can be excited only by

rational, kind, and just treatment: As reasonably might a tyrannical father hope to gather figs from a bramble-bush, as to be loved and respected by his maltreated children. If a parent desire to have a docile, affectionate, and intelligent family, he must habitually address himself to their moral and intellectual powers; he must make them feel that he is wise and good—exhibit himself as the natural object of attachment and respect; and by average children, performance of these duties will not be withheld. If parents knew the mental and bodily constitution of the young, they would be far less frequently disobeyed than they actually are. Many of their commands forbid the exercise of faculties which in children pant for gratification, (a sure sign that nature intended the impulses to be gratified;) and the misery and disappointment consequent on baulked desire have an effect very different from that of disposing them to affection and obedience. The love of muscular motion, for instance, is irrepressible in children, and physiology proves that the voice of Nature ought to be anxiously listened to; yet the obedience of children to this instinct, is in most cases, strictly prohibited, that the family or teacher may not be disturbed by noise; faculties are called on to work which nature intended to operate at a later period of life; the health and happiness of the children are impaired; and if the peevishness which ensues be unpalatable to the parents, they should ascribe the evil to their own misguided treatment.

A friend, who is the father of several intelligent children, told me that before he studied Phrenology and the natural laws, he taught his children the shorter catechism, and required their obedience on the strength of the 5th commandment, "Honor thy Father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee," and he as-

sured them that God would punish them by premature death if they disobeyed this commandment. God, he said, had power of life and death over all, and as he was just, he would enforce his authority. The children soon learned, however, by experience, that this consequence did not actually follow; they disobeyed, and were threatened; but finding themselves still alive, they disobeyed again. He was not successful, therefore, by this method, in enforcing obedience. After becoming acquainted with the natural laws, he still taught them the commandment, but he gave a different explanation of it. You see, said he, that there are numberless objects around you, very dangerous to your lives: there is fire that will burn you, water that will drown you, poison that will kill you; and also, there are many habits and practices, which will undermine the constitution of your vital organs; such as your heart, your stomach, or your lungs, (explaining these at the same time,) and cause you to die; as you have seen John and Janet, the children of Mrs. Wilson, and Mrs. Brown, die. Now, because I am old, and have listened to my parents, and have studied and observed a great deal, I know what will injure you, and what will not, which you do not know yourselves; and I am willing to communicate all my knowledge and experience to you, that you may avoid danger and not die, if you choose to listen to, and obey me: but, if you prefer taking your own way, and acting on your own ignorance, you will soon discover that God's threat is not an empty one; you will come home some day, suffering severely from your own rashness and self-will, and then you will learn whether you were right in your disobedience;—you will then understand the meaning of the commandment to be, that if you obey your parents, and avail yourself of their knowledge and experience, you will avoid dan-

ger and live; if you neglect their counsels, you will, through sheer ignorance, and self-will, fall into mischief, and suffer severely, and perhaps die. He said that this commentary, enforced from day to day by proofs of his knowing more than the children did, was successful; they became much more obedient, and entertained a higher respect both for God's commandment and for him.

It is a common practice with nurses, when a child falls and hurts itself, to beat the ground, or the table, against which it has struck. This is really cultivating the feeling of revenge. It gratifies the infant's Self-Esteem and Destructiveness, and pacifies it for the moment. The method of proceeding dictated by th e natural law, is widely different. The nurse or parent should take pains to explain the cause of its falling, and present it with motives to take greater care in future. This would turn its suffering to good account; it would become, what it was intended by providence to be, *a lesson* to lead it to wisdom and virtue—to patience, to circumspection, and to reflection. In exacting obedience from children, it should never be forgotten that their brains are very differently constituted, and that their mental dispositions vary in a corresponding degree. The organ of Veneration, besides, is generally late in being developed, so that a child may be stubborn, and unmanageable, under one kind of treatment, or at one age, who shall prove tractable and obedient under a different discipline, or at a future period. Phrenology addresses itself to parents, like a revelation from heaven. It enables them to appreciate the natural talents and dispositions of each child, to modify their treatment, and to distinguish between positively vicious tendencies,—such as deceit, lying, and dishonesty, and other manifestations,—such as stubbornness, and disobedience, which often pro-

ceed from misdirection of qualities that will prove extremely useful in the maturity of the understanding. The cause for watchfulness and anxiety is much greater in the former than in the latter case, because dishonesty, falsehood, and pilfering, betoken not only over-active organs of Secretiveness and Acquisitiveness, but a native deficiency of the controling moral organs, which is a more serious evil. When the moral organs are adequately possessed, the perceptions of children regarding right and wrong, are naturally active and extremely acute; and although individuals with a large development of the organs of the higher sentiments may commit aberrations in youth, under the impulse of the propensities, they will certainly improve as age and experience increase.—Where the moral organs are very defective, the individual tends to deterioration of character in mature life. After the restraints imposed by parental authority are withdrawn, and respect for the world is blunted, persons deficient in these faculties are prone to become victims to their inferior feelings, and to disgrace themselves and bring sorrow on their connections.

As some individuals are really born with such deficiencies of the moral organs as incapacitate them for pursuing rational conduct, although they possess average intellect, and are free from diseased action of the brain; and as there is no legal method of restraining them, unless they commit what the law accounts crimes, great misery is often endured by their relatives in seeing them proceed from one step of folly and iniquity to another, until they are plunged into irretrievable ruin and disgrace. The Phrenologist who discovers that the source of the evil lies in an imperfect development of the moral organs, views them as patients, and desires that physical restraint should be applied to prevent the abuses of their lower

propensities, which they have not morality sufficient to command.* But there is no law authorizing their re-

* The writer in the New York Review, alluded to in the preface, stigmatises the doctrine in the text, as being "calculated to weaken our sense of accountability, or shake our confidence in moral distinctions." He quotes from the "Reports" of these Lectures the following words: "Extensive observation of the heads of criminals, and inquiry into their feelings and histories, place it beyond a doubt, that in many of them conscience is, (and always has been) either very defective, or *had literally no existence*." "It is extremely questionable whether Society should punish severely, those who err through moral blindness arising from deficiency of certain parts of the brain!" The Reviewer does not propose to inquire whether this statement be borne out by *facts*, or not; but at once *assumes* that *it is not*, and proceeds thus: "This is indeed, 'a Revelation,' and there can be little doubt that at Sing-Sing and Auburn, it would receive a most cordial reception." As my motto is "*res non verba*," (facts not arguments,) I submit the following narrative to the consideration of the Reviewer, and of other persons in a similar frame of mind to his. On the 22d October, 1839, I visited the State Prison of Connecticut, at Wethersfield, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Gallaudet, the Rev. Principal Totten, Dr. A. Brigham, and four or five other gentlemen, who had attended my course of Lectures on Phrenology, then nearly concluded at Hartford. I had illustrated the doctrine in the text, by the exhibition of numerous casts, and impressed on their minds the peculiar forms of development which distinguish the best from the worst constituted brains. Mr. Pillsbury, the Superintendant of the Prison, brought a criminal into his office, without speaking one word concerning his crime or history. I declined to examine his head myself, but requested the gentlemen who accompanied me to do so, engaging to correct their observations, if they erred. They proceeded with the examination, and stated the inferences which they drew, respecting the natural dispositions of the individual. Mr. Pillsbury then read from a manuscript paper, which he had prepared before we came, the character as known to him. The coincidence between the two, was complete. This prisoner was withdrawn, another was introduced, and the same process was gone through, and with the same result in regard to him. So with a third, and a fourth. Among the criminals, there were striking differences in intellect, and in some of the feelings, which were correctly stated by the observers.

These experiments, I repeat, were made by the gentlemen who accompanied me, and as some of them were evangelical clergymen, of the highest reputation, I requested them to manipulate the heads. They did so, and inferred the dispositions from actual perception of the great deficiencies in the moral organs, and the predominance of the animal organs, in

latives to treat them in this manner against their inclinations. In the neighborhood of Paris, however, Mons. Voisin, an intelligent Phrenologist, has opened an institution for the reception of patients of this description, who are still under parental authority, or that of guardians. He receives youths who are not laboring under any disease or derangement of their faculties, but whose organs are so unfavorably combined, that when left to their instinctive impulses in ordinary society, and under the usual guidance, they cannot refrain from immorality. He proceeds in his whole treatment on phrenological principles, openly and avowedly. He first withdraws external temptation; for the children live in an establishment apart from ordinary society. Secondly—He imposes restraint, for each patient is attended constantly by a tutor, or superior servant, who is chargeable with superintending his actions at all times, and keeping a constant watch over him. Thirdly—He uses every active means to cultivate and strengthen the organs that are deficient, by exercise and instruction. He and his partner, and his partner's wife, live among them and superintend the whole. The establishment is very recent, and its success is yet unascertained.* It has received some pupils from France,

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those individuals whom Mr. Pillsbury pronounced, in his opinion, to be incorrigible; for the question was solemnly put to him, by Dr. Brigham, whether he found any of the prisoners to be irreclaimable, under the existing system of treatment, and he acknowledged that he did. One of the individuals who was examined, had been thirty years in the State Prison, under four different sentences, and in him the moral region of the brain was exceedingly deficient. I respectfully pressed upon the attention of the Reverend Gentlemen, that the facts which they had observed were institutions of the Creator, and that it was in vain for man to be angry with them, to deny them, or to esteem them of light importance.

* I regret to hear that this institution was not successful, chiefly from very lax management.

and already one from Britain. Similar institutions are much wanted in this country, and they ought to be established, and aided by the law. I know of numerous and most distressing examples of young persons going to utter and irreclaimable ruin both in property, health and character, who by no human means, if not by such institutions, could have been saved.*

My conviction is, that if parents have transmitted to their children well balanced and favorably developed brains, and if they have done their duty in training, educating, and fitting them out in the world, they will rarely have cause to complain of ingratitude, or want of filial piety. Where the brains of the children are ill constituted, or where training and education have been neglected, or improperly conducted, the parents, in reaping sorrow and disappointment from the behavior of their offspring, are suffering the natural consequences of their own actions,—and if these are punishments, they should read in them an intimation of the divine displeasure with their own conduct. In proportion to the development and cultivation of the moral and intellectual faculties, are gratitude and filial piety strongly and steadily manifested by children. In the middle ranks, and among the well principled and respectable members of the lower ranks, it is rare to see parents left in destitution by children who are at all capable of maintaining them; but among the heartless, reckless and grossly ignorant, it is not uncommon. The legal provision which must be made by the parish for the poor, has tended to blunt the feelings of many individuals in regard to this duty; yet great and beautiful examples of its fulfilment are

* The Houses of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents, in the United States, correspond, in some degree, to the institutions mentioned in the text, as wanting, but they do not fulfil the whole requisites.

frequent, and we may expect that these will increase as education and improvement advance.

Among the domestic duties I might enumerate the reciprocal obligations of masters and servants; but as the general principles which ought to regulate the conduct of men as members of society apply also to this relationship, I shall not enter into them at present.

LECTURE VIII.

ORIGIN OF SOCIETY—OF DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS, AND OF GRADATIONS IN RANK.

I proceed now to consider those *social duties and rights*, which are not strictly domestic. The first subject of inquiry is into the origin of society itself. On this question many fanciful theories have been given to the world. It has engaged the imagination of the poet and the intellect of the philosopher. Ovid has described mankind as at first in a state of innocence and happiness during what is termed the golden age, and as declining gradually into vice and misery through the silver, brazen, and iron ages.

"The golden age," (says he,) "was first, when man, yet new,
No rule but uncorrupted reason knew;
And with a native bent, did good pursue.
Unforced by punishment, unawed by fear,
His words were simple, and his soul sincere.

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No walls were yet; nor fence, nor moat, nor mound,
No drum was heard, nor trumpet's angry sound;
Nor swords were forged; but void of care and crime,
The soft creation slept away their time.

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The flowers unsown, in fields and meadows reigned,
And western winds immortal springs maintained.
In following years, the bearded corn ensued,
From earth unasked, nor was that earth renewed.
From veins of vallies milk and nectar broke,
And honey sweating through the pores of oak."

To this succeeded too rapidly the silver, the brazen, and the iron ages; which last, the world had reached in the days of Ovid, and in which, unfortunately, it still remains.

Rousseau, who was rather a poet than a philosopher, has written speculations "on the origin and foundations of the existing inequalities among men," which have powerfully attracted the attention of the learned. He informs us that he "sees man such as he must have proceeded from the hands of nature, less powerful than some animals, less active than others, but, taking him on the whole, more advantageously organized than any. He sees him satisfying his hunger under an oak, quenching his thirst at the first rivulet, finding his bed under the trees whose fruit had afforded him a repast, and thus satisfied to the full of every desire."*

"It is impossible," continues he, "to conceive how, in this original condition, one man could have more need of another than a wolf or an ape has of its fellows; or, supposing the need to exist, what motive could induce the other to satisfy it? or how, in this latter case, the two could agree upon the terms of their social intercourse?"

From these premises, Rousseau draws the conclusion, that "the first who, having enclosed a piece of ground, took upon himself to call it '*mine*,' and found individuals so foolish as to believe him, was the true founder of civil society." "What crimes, what wars, what murders, what miseries and horrors, would he have spared to the human race, who, tearing up the land-marks, or filling up the ditches, had cried to his equals, 'Beware how you listen to this impostor!

Discours sur L' Origine et les Fondemens d' Inegalité parmi les Hommes. 4to edit. Geneva, 1782. p. 48.

You are undone if you forget that the fruits of the earth belong to all, and the soil to none!' " p. 87.

The fundamental error in Rousseau's speculation is, that he endows man, in his primitive condition, with whatever faculties he pleases; or rather he bestows upon him no principles of action but such as suit his own theory. Numerous antagonists have combated these speculations, and, among others, Wieland has written half a volume on the subject; but their absurdity is so self-evident, that I do not consider it necessary to enter into any lengthened refutation of them. The great error of such theorists is, that they assume the mind to be altogether passive—to have no spontaneous activity giving origin to wants or desires: they ascribe the creation of almost all our propensities and tastes to the circumstances in which they were first manifested. The ear, in a state of health, hears no sounds till excited by the vibrations of the air, and they imagine the mind to be similar in its constitution.

This mode of philosophizing resembles that which should account for an eruption of Mount Vesuvius by ascribing it to the rent in the surface of the mountain, through which the lava bursts, instead of attributing it to the mighty energies of the volcanic matter buried beneath its rocks.

Other philosophers besides Rousseau have theorized on the constitution of society, without previously investigating the constitution of the human mind. Mr. Millar, in his "Observations concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society," proceeds at once "to show the effects of poverty and barbarism with regard to the passions of sex, to the general occupations of a people, and the degree of consideration which is paid to the women as members of society," without at all inquiring into the innate

tendencies and capacities of man, from which the facts which he wishes to account for, proceed. However interesting such a work may be, as a contribution to the natural history of man, it throws no light on the question, whence the conditions which it records have arisen. It leaves the mind unsatisfied on the general and fundamental question, whether the whole aspect of society, such as it actually exists, has arisen from human institutions, arbitrary in their origin, and controllable by the human will; or whether it has sprung in any, and, if so, to what extent, from instincts referable to nature herself?

Lord Kaimes, one of the shrewdest and most observant philosophers of the old school, has taken a more rational view of the origin of society. Perceiving that man has been endowed with natural aptitudes and desires, he founds upon these every institution which has been universal among mankind. He attributes the origin of society to "the social principle." Men became hunters from a natural appetite to hunt, and by hunting appeased their hunger. They became shepherds from seeing that it was easier to breed tame animals than to catch wild ones, after hunting had made them scarce. Being shepherds, population increased, and necessity made them desire an increase of food. They saw the earth in some climates producing corn spontaneously, and the idea arose that by forwarding its growth and removing obstructing weeds, more corn would be produced; and hence they became agriculturists. The idea of property sprung from "the hoarding appetite." Lord Kames ascribes the various institutions which exist in society to principles innate in the mind, and not to chance or factitious circumstances.

Locke, and some other writers, have assigned the origin of society to reason, and represented it as

springing from a compact by which individual men surrendered, for the general welfare, certain portions of their private rights, and submitted to various restraints; receiving, in return, protection and other advantages, arising from the social state. This idea also is erroneous. Society has always been far advanced before the idea of such a compact began to be entertained; and even then it has occurred only to the minds of philosophers. What solution, then, does Phrenology offer?

It shews that man possesses mental faculties endowed with spontaneous activity, which give rise to many desires equally definite with the appetite for food. Among these faculties are several which act as social instincts, and from the spontaneous activity of these, society has obviously proceeded. The Phrenologist, then, follows in the same track with Lord Kames; but the advantage which he possesses over his Lordship, consists in the superior precision with which, by means of studying the organs of the mind, he has ascertained the faculties which are really primitive, with their functions and spheres of action; and also, the effects of differences in the relative size of the organs in different individuals.

From the three faculties of Amativeness, Philoprogenitiveness, and Adhesiveness, the matrimonial compact, as formerly shewn, derives it origin. Adhesiveness has a yet wider sphere of action: it is the gregarious instinct, or propensity to congregate; it desires the society of our fellow-men generally. Hence, its existence demonstrates that the Creator intended us to live in the social state. The nature and objects of other faculties besides Adhesiveness, lead to the same conclusion. Neither Benevolence, which delights in universal happiness,—nor Love of Approbation, whose gratification is the applause and

good opinion of others,—nor Veneration, which gives a tendency to respect and yield obedience to superiors,—nor Conscientiousness, which holds the balance wherein the rights of competing parties are weighed,—has full scope, and a sufficiently wide sphere of action, except in general society: the domestic circle is too contracted for the purpose.

The faculty of Conscientiousness, in particular, seems necessarily to imply the existence of the individual in the social state. To give rise to the exercise of justice, and the fulfilment of duty, there must necessarily be two parties,—the one to perform, and the other to receive. Conscientiousness would be as little useful to a solitary human being, as speech to a hermit; while even in the domestic circle, the faculties of Benevolence, Philoprogenitiveness and Veneration are more directly called into play than it. The head of the family bestows through affection and bounty; the dependents receive with gratitude and respect; and the feeling of duty, on the part of either, rarely mingles its influence, when these other and more direct principles, play with great and spontaneous energy. The sphere in which Conscientiousness is most directly exercised, is that in which the interests and inclinations of equals come into competition. Conscientiousness, aided by intellect, then determines the rights of each, and inspires them with the feeling that it is their *duty* to do so much, and to demand no more. Phrenology enables us to prove that Conscientiousness is not a factitious sentiment, reared up in society, as many moral philosophers and metaphysicians have taught,—but a primitive power, having its specific organ. This fact is essential to my argument; and in my lectures on Phrenology, I have exhibited the evidence by which it is established. I do not consider it necessary here to revert to it.

The adaptation of the intellectual faculties to society, is equally conspicuous. The faculty of Language implies the presence of intelligent beings, with whom we may communicate by speech. The faculties of Causality and Comparison, which are the fountains of reasoning, imply our co-existence with other intellectual beings, with whose perceptions and experience we may compare our own. Without combination, what advance could be made in science, arts, or manufactures? As food is related to hunger, and light to the sense of vision, so is society adapted to the social faculties of man. The presence of human beings is indispensable to the gratification and excitement of our mental powers in general. What a void and craving is experienced by those who are cut off from communication with their fellows! Persons who have been placed in remote and solitary stations on the confines of civilization, have uniformly become dull in intellect, shy, unsocial and unhappy. The most atrocious criminals, when placed in solitary confinement, without work, lose their ferocity, feel subdued, and speedily lose their health and vigor. The cause is, that the stimulus yielded to the social faculties by the presence of their fellow-men, is wanting. In some of the American prisons, solitary confinement, with labor, has been tried, and it has been found to subdue the mind, without impairing the health; the mind finding excitement in the work performed. In other prisons, criminals have been compelled to work in silence and without communication with each other, but in society. They are locked up in solitary cells during night, and in the morning are marched, in solemn silence, into a great workshop, where they see each other, but in which no interchange of word, look, or sentiment is permitted. The presence of their fellow-creatures sustains the social fac-

ulties, and despondency is not induced. The restraint produces a softening of the feelings to a certain extent, which predisposes the mind to receive moral impressions; while sufficient stimulus is, at the same time, afforded to the social sentiments to ward off too great a depression, amounting to disease.

The balmy influence of society on the human mind, may be discovered in the vivacious and generally happy aspect of those who live in the bosom of a family, or mingle freely with the world; while the chilling effect of solitude is apparent in the cold, starched, and stagnated manners and expression of those who refrain from associating with their fellow-creatures. A man whose muscular, digestive, respiratory, and circulating systems greatly predominate in energy over the brain and nervous system, stands less in need of society to gratify his mental faculties, than an individual oppositely constituted: he delights in active muscular exercise, and is never so happy as with the elastic turf beneath his feet and the blue vault of heaven over his head. But where the brain and nervous system are most energetic, there arise mental wants which can be gratified only in society, and residence in a city is felt indispensable to enjoyment: the mind flags and becomes feeble when not stimulated by collision and converse with kindred spirits. In short, the social state is plainly as natural to man as it is to the bee, the raven, or the sheep. This question being set at rest, the duties implied in the constitution of society are next to be considered.

The first duty imposed on man in relation to society is *industry*—a duty, the origin and sanction of which, are easily discovered. Man is sent into the world naked, unprotected, and unprovided for. He does not, like the brutes, find his skin clothed with a sufficient covering, but must provide garments for himself; he

cannot perch on a bough or burrow in a hole, but must rear a dwelling to protect himself from the weather; he does not, like the ox, find his nourishment under his feet, but must hunt or cultivate the ground. To capacitate him for the performance of these necessary duties, he has received a body fitted for labor, and a mind calculated to direct his exertions; while the external world has been created with the wisest adaptation to his constitution.

Many of us have been taught, by our religious instructors, that labor is a curse, and that the necessity for it was imposed by God on man as a punishment for sin. I remarked in the first Lecture, that whether sin *was* or *was not* the cause which induced the Almighty to constitute man such as we now see him, an organized being, composed of bones, muscles, blood vessels, nerves, respiratory and digestive organs, and a brain calculated to manifest a rational mind; and to confer on external nature its present qualities, adapted to give scope and exercise to these powers,—philosophy cannot tell; but it humbly appears to me that, constituted as we actually are, labor, which, in its proper sense, means *exertion, either bodily or mental, for useful purposes*, is not only no calamity, but is the grand fountain of our enjoyment. Unless we exercise our limbs, what happiness can they afford to us? If we do not exercise them, they become diseased, and punish us with positive pain,—so that the duty of bodily exertion is a law of God, written in all our system, as strikingly as if it were emblazoned on the sky. Constituted as we are, it is not labor, but inactivity which is an evil,—that is, which is visited by God with suffering and disease. The misery of idleness has been a favorite theme of moralists in every age; and its baneful influence on the bodily health, has equally attracted the notice of the physician and

of observers in general. Happiness, in truth, is nothing but the gratification of active faculties; and hence, the more active our faculties are, within the limits of health, the greater is our enjoyment.

> "Life's cares are comforts; such by heaven designed;
> He that has none must make them, or be wretched.
> Cares are employments, and without employ
> The soul is on a rack, the rack of rest,
> To souls most adverse—action all their joy."

The prevalent notion that labor is an evil, must have arisen from ignorance of the constitution of man, and from contemplating the effects of labor carried to excess.

Bodily and mental activity, therefore, being the law of our nature and the fountain of our enjoyment, I observe, first, that they may be directed to *useful* or to *useless* purposes; and they may be carried to excess. Exertion, for the attainment of useful objects, is generally termed labor; and, because of its utility, men have, with strange perversity, looked upon it as degrading! Exertion for mere capricious self-gratification, and directed to no useful end, has, on the other hand, been dignified with the name of pleasure, and is esteemed honorable. These notions appear to be injurious errors, which obtain no countenance from the natural laws. Indeed, the proposition ought to be reversed. Pleasure increases in proportion to the number of faculties employed, and it becomes purer and more lasting, the higher the faculties are which are engaged in the enterprize. The pursuit of a great and beneficial object, such as providing for a family, or discharging an important duty to society, calls into energetic action, not only a greater variety of faculties, but also faculties of a higher order, viz., the moral

sentiments and intellect, than those frivolous occupations, (miscalled pleasures,) which are directed to self-indulgence and the gratification of vanity alone.

The reason why labor has so generally been regarded as an evil, is its very unequal distribution among individuals—many contriving to exempt themselves from all participation in it, (though not to the increase of their own happiness,) while others have been oppressed with an excessive share. Both extremes are improper; and the hope may reasonably be indulged in, that when society shall become so far enlightened as to esteem that honorable which God has rendered at once profitable and pleasant,—and when labor shall be properly distributed, and confined within the bounds of moderation,—it will assume its true aspect, and be hailed by all as a rational fountain of enjoyment.

Regarding bodily and mental activity, therefore, as institutions of the Creator, I observe, in the next place, that as man has been destined for society, *a division of occupations* is indispensable to his welfare. If every one were to insist on cultivating the ground, there would be no manufacturers, carpenters or builders. If all were to prefer the exercise of the constructive arts, we should have no agriculturists and no food. The Creator has arranged the spontaneous division of labor among men, by the simplest, yet most effectual of means. He has bestowed different combinations of the mental faculties on different individuals, and thereby given them at once the desire and the aptitude for different occupations. Phrenology renders clear the origin of differences of employment. The metaphysicians treat only of general powers of the mind; and among the active principles, enumerate ambition, the love of power, the love of kindred, and so forth, while their catalogue of intellectual

faculties embraces only Perception, Conception, Abstraction, Attention, Memory, Judgment, and Imagination. Most of them deny that individuals differ in the degrees in which they possess these powers; and ascribe all actual differences to education, association, habit, and a variety of similar causes. With their philosophy, therefore, for our guide, we are called on to explain by what process of arrangement, or chapter of accidents, the general powers of Perception, Memory, Judgment, and Imagination, render one man a carpenter, another a sailor, a third a merchant, a fourth an author, a fifth a painter, a sixth an engineer? If this opinion be true, how comes it to pass that some who utterly fail in one pursuit, succeed to admiration in another? and whence is it that there was no jostling in the community at first, and that very little harsh friction occurs now, in arranging the duties to be performed by each individual member? We are next required to solve the problem by what cause one man's ambition takes the direction of war, another's that of agriculture, and a third that of painting or making speeches, if all their native aptitudes and tendencies are the same, both in kind and degree? How one man delights to spend his life in accumulating wealth, and another knows no pleasure equal to that of dissipating and squandering it. I do not detain you with the ingenious theories that have been propounded by the metaphysicians, as solutions of these questions, but come at once to the explanation afforded by the new philosophy. Phrenology teaches that man has received a variety of primitive faculties, each having specific spheres of action, and standing in specific relations to certain external objects, and that we take an interest in these objects in consequence of their aptitude to gratify our faculties. If a hare and a cat, for instance, were playing in the same field, and a

mouse were to stray between them, the hare would see it pass without interest,—while the cat's blood would be on fire, every hair would bristle, and it would pounce upon it to devour it. The cat possesses organs of destructiveness, of which the mouse is the external object, and hence the source of its interest. The hare wants these organs, and hence its indifference. Every sane individual of the human race enjoys the same number of faculties, but each power is manifested by means of a particular portion of the brain, and acts with a degree of energy, other things being equal, corresponding to the size of that part. These parts or organs are combined in different relative proportions in different individuals. Hence, the individual in whom Combativeness and Destructiveness are the largest organs, desires to be a soldier; he in whom Veneration, Hope and Wonder are the largest, desires to be a minister of religion; he in whom Constructiveness, Weight, and Form are largest, desires to be a mechanician; and he in whom Constructiveness, Form, Imitation, and Ideality predominate, is inspired with the love of painting. The Creator, by bestowing on all the race the same number of faculties, and giving similarity to their constitution, has fitted us for forming one common family. In consequence of our common nature, we understand each other's instincts, desires, talents, and pursuits, and are prepared to act in concert; while by giving superiority in particular powers to particular individuals, he has effectually provided for variety of character and talent, or for the division of labor. The division of labor, therefore, is not an expedient devised by man's sagacity, but a direct result of his constitution; exactly as it is in the case of any of the inferior animals which live in society and divide their duties without possessing the attribute of reason. When we dis-

cover differences of combination in size existing in the cerebral organs in different individuals, we receive another proof that man has been created expressly to live and act as a social being.

When we compare the corporeal frames of different individuals, we find that they differ in stature, strength, and temperament; some are strong, active, and energetic; while others are feeble, or sluggish. In a world in which the means of subsistence can be gained only by vigorous exertion, these differences alone would give rise to inferiority and superiority, among individuals. But when we examine the brain, on which the mental qualities depend, we discover the differences between individuals, in regard to them, to be equally extensive and striking. In one man, the brain is large, the temperament is active, and the three regions of the animal, moral, and intellectual organs, are all favorably developed; such a person, is one of nature's nobility. He is endowed with native energy by his temperament, and mental power by his brain; and he needs farther, only knowledge, with a fair field of action, to attain the highest prizes, which are offered by a bountiful Creator, to human virtue, industry, and talent. Another individual has inherited from birth the lymphatic temperament, and is constitutionally inert, or he has received a small brain, which is incapable of vigorous manifestations. In a scene where valuable objects can be attained only by capacity and energy, such a person must, of necessity, give place to him who has been favored with higher endowments. A third individual, perhaps, has received several organs, developed in a superior degree, which fit him to acquire distinction in a particular department of life; but he is deficient in other organs, which unfit him to advance successfully in other walks. Such a man, may, if he

choose his vocation wisely, in relation to his special endowments, assume a high station; if unwisely, he may stand low in the scale of social consideration.

Gradations of rank being thus institutions of God, those men are wild, enthusiastic dreamers, and not philosophers, who contemplate their abolition. This proposition, however, does not imply approval of artificial distinctions of rank, independently of natural endowments. These are the inventions of ignorant and selfish men; they are paltry devices to secure, by means of parchments, the advantages of high rank, without the attributes which alone give a title to them, under the laws of nature. As civilization and knowledge advance, these will be renounced as ridiculous, like the ponderous wigs, cocked hats, laced coats and swords, of bygone centuries. It is unfortunate when a fool or rogue is the possessor of high rank and title, for these attract the respect of many to his foolish or vicious deeds, and to his erroneous opinions.

The Creator has instituted still another cause of social differences. In this world, man has received only faculties, or mere powers and capacities, and external nature has been adapted to them; but he has not been instinctively inspired with *knowledge* of the best manner of applying his powers, or information concerning the qualities and adaptation of external objects, but been left to find out these by the exercise of his reason. Now, if we take twenty men whose brains, temperament, and bodily constitution, are exactly alike, but ten of whom have sedulously applied their faculties to study nature, and to discover her capabilities; and the other ten of whom, have sought only pleasure, in trivial pursuits, it is obvious, that in all social attainments, the former will speedily surpass the latter. If both classes wished to build a

house, you would find the observing and reflecting men in possession of the lever, the pulley, the hammer, the axe, and the saw; while the hunters and the fishers, would be pushing loads with their hands, or lifting them with their arms, and shaping timber with sharp edged stones. In civilized society the same results appear. Any individual who has learned how to use his natural powers to the best advantage, in other words, who has acquired knowledge and skill, is decidedly superior to him, who, although born with equal native talents, has never been taught the best method of applying them.

When we view the gradation of ranks such as nature intended it to be, it presents itself as an institution beneficial to all. The man who stands at the bottom of the scale, does so because he is actually lowest either in natural endowments, or in acquired skill; and in that lowest rank he enjoys advantages far more numerous than those he could command by *his* talents, if he stood alone. He derives many advantages from the superior abilities and acquirements of his fellowmen. In point of fact, an able-bodied, steady, and respectable laborer in Britain, is better clothed, better fed, and better lodged, than the chief of a savage tribe in New South Wales.

I anticipate that it will be objected, that although this may be a correct exposition of the origin of gradations of ranks, and that although if the principles now explained, were alone allowed to determine the station of individuals, none would have just cause of complaint, yet that the practical result is widely different, because weak, wicked, and indolent men, are often found in possession of the highest gifts of fortune, and the loftiest pinnacles of rank; while able, good, and enlightened individuals, stand low in the scale in

regard to both. This subject is too extensive and important, to be entered upon at this advanced hour, and I shall therefore reserve it for our consideration in the next lecture.

LECTURE IX.

ON THE PAST, PRESENT, AND PROSPECTIVE CONDITIONS OF SOCIETY.

In the last Lecture we considered the origin of society, of the division of labor, and of differences of rank. I proceed to discuss an objection which may be urged against some of the views then stated—namely, that occasionally persons of defective moral principle, though of considerable talent, and in other instances, weak and indolent men, are found in possession of high rank and fortune, while able, good, and enlightened individuals stand low in the scale of public honor. Let us endeavor to investigate the causes of this anomaly, and to inquire, whether the evil admits of a remedy.

Man is endowed with two great classes of faculties, so different in their nature, desires, and objects, that he appears almost as two beings conjoined in one. I refer to the animal propensities, and moral sentiments. The propensities have all reference to self-sustenance, self-gratification, or self-aggrandizement, and do not give rise to a single feeling of disinterested love or regard for the happiness of other beings. Even the domestic affections, when acting independently of the moral sentiments, prompt us to seek only a selfish gratification, without regard to the real welfare of the beings who afford it. Examples of this kind may be

met with, every day, in the seductions, and temporary alliances of individuals of strong animal passions, and deficient morality. We observe, also, that parents, in an ecstacy of fondness for their offspring, inspired by Philoprogenitiveness, sometimes spoil them, and render them extremely miserable, which is just indulging their own affections, without enlightened regard for the welfare of their objects. When Combativeness, and Destructiveness are active, it is to assail other individuals, or to protect *ourselves* against their aggressions. When Acquisitiveness is pursuing its objects, the appropriation of property to ourselves is its aim. When Self-Esteem inspires us with its emotions, we are prompted to place ourselves, and our own interests and gratifications, first in all our considerations. When Love of Approbation is supremely active, we desire esteem, glory, praise, or advancement, as public acknowledgments of our own superiority over other men. Secretiveness and Cautiousness, from which arise *savoir faire* and circumspection, are apt allies of all the selfish desires.

The other class of faculties alluded to, is that of the moral sentiments, Benevolence, Veneration, and Conscientiousness, and they take a loftier, a more disinterested, and beneficent range. Benevolence desires to diffuse universal happiness. It is not satisfied with mere self-enjoyment. As long as it sees a sentient being miserable, whom it could render happy, it desires to do so; and its own satisfaction is not complete, till that be accomplished. Veneration desires to invest with esteem, and treat with deference and respect, every human being who manifests virtue, and wisdom; and to adore the Creator, as the fountain of universal perfection. Conscientiousness desires to introduce and maintain an all pervading justice, a state of society in which the merits of the humblest individuals

shall not be overlooked, but shall be appreciated and rewarded; and in which the pretensions of the egotist and the ambitious, shall be circumscribed within the limits of their real deserts.

There are certain faculties which may be regarded as auxiliaries of these. Ideality desires to realize the perfect, and the beautiful, in every object, and in every action. It longs for a world in which all objects shall be fair, and lovely, and invested with the most perfect attributes of form, color, action, and arrangement, and in which the human mind may manifest only dispositions in harmony with such a scene. Wonder, desires the new and the untried, and serves to urge us forward in our career of improvement; while the sentiment of Hope smooths and gilds the whole vista of futurity presented to the mind's eye, representing every desire as possible to be fulfilled, and every good as attainable.

The intellectual faculties are the servants equally of both orders of faculties. Our powers of observation and reflection may be employed in perpetrating the blackest crimes, or performing the most beneficent actions, according as they are directed by the propensities, or moral sentiments.

We have seen, that among these faculties there are several which render man a social being; and we find him, accordingly, living in society, in all circumstances and stages of refinement. But, according as the ruling motives of a nation are derived from the one class or the other, it is obvious that it will elevate very different characters to its highest places of honor and emolument. Where the selfish faculties have unbridled sway, rapine, fraud, tyranny and violence prevail: on the other hand, a people in whom the moral sentiments are sufficiently vigorous, pursue private advantage with a constant respect to the rights of other

men. In the former state of society, we should naturally expect to find selfish, ambitious, and unprincipled men, who are strong in mind and body, in possession of the highest rank and greatest wealth; because, in the contention of pure selfishness, such qualities alone are fitted to succeed. In a society of men animated by the moral sentiments and intellect as their leading impulses, we should expect to find places of the highest honor and advantage occupied by the most intelligent and usefully active members of the community; because, in such a society, these qualities would be most esteemed. The former state of society characterizes all barbarous nations; and the latter, which is felt by well-constituted minds to be the great object of human desire, has never been fully realized. By many, the idea of it is regarded as Utopian; by others, its attainment is believed possible; by all, it is admitted to be desirable. It is desired, because the moral sentiments exist, and because they instinctively long for the reign of peace, good will, refinement, and enjoyment, and are grieved by the suffering which so largely abounds in the present condition of human affairs.

The question is an important one, whether man be destined to proceed, in this world, till the end of time, constantly desiring pure and moral institutions, yet ever devoting himself to inferior objects, and the unsatisfying labors of misdirected selfishness, vanity and ambition; or if he will, at length, be permitted to realize his loftier conceptions and his best desires.

The fact of the higher sentiments being constituent elements of our nature, seems to warrant us in expecting an illimitable improvement in the condition of society. Unless our nature had been fitted to rise up to the standard which these faculties desire to reach,

we may presume that they would not have been bestowed on us. They cannot have been intended merely to dazzle us with phantom illusions of purity, intelligence, and happiness, which we are destined forever to pursue in vain.

But what encouragement does experience afford for trusting in the future improvement of social arrangements so as to regulate rank according to merit? Man is a progressive being, and, in his social institutions, he ascends through the scale of his faculties, very much as an individual does, in rising from infancy to manhood. In his social capacity he commences with institutions and pursuits related almost exclusively to the simplest of his animal instincts, and his most obvious intellectual perceptions.

The most authentic histories agree in describing men, in their earliest condition, as savages, wandering amidst wide-spreading forests, or over extensive savannas, clothed in the skins of animals, and drawing their chief subsistence from the chase. This is clearly the outward manifestation of feeble intellect and Constructiveness, of dormant Ideality, very weak moral sentiments, but active propensities. The skulls of savage nations present indications of a corresponding development of brain. In this condition there is little distinction of rank, except the superiority conferred on individuals by age, energy, or courage; and there is no division of labor, or diversity of employment, except that almost all painful and laborious duties are imposed on the women. All stand so near the bottom of the scale, that there is yet scarcely place for social distinctions.

In the next stage, we find men congregated into tribes, possessed of cattle, and assuming the aspect of a community, although still migratory in their habits. This state implies the possession of implements and

utensils fabricated by means of ingenuity and industry; also, a wider range of social attachment; and so much of moral principle as to prompt individuals to respect the property, at least, of each other in their own tribe. This is the pastoral condition, and it proclaims an advance in the development of intellect, Constructiveness, Adhesiveness, and the moral sentiments. In this stage, however, of the social progress, there is still a very imperfect manifestation of the higher moral and intellectual faculties. Neighboring tribes are feared and hated; Acquisitiveness, unenlightened by intellect, and undirected by morality, desires to acquire wealth by plunder, rather than by industry; and the intellectual faculties have not yet comprehended the advantages of manufactures and of commerce. In this stage, men regard neighboring tribes as their natural enemies,—make war on them, spoil their substance, murder their males, and carry their females and children into captivity. They conceive that they crown themselves with glory by these achievements.

In such a state of society, it is obvious that those individuals who possess, in the highest degree, the qualities most useful to the community, and most esteemed according to their standard of virtue, will be advanced to the highest rank, with all its attendant advantages and honors. Accordingly, in such a condition, great physical strength, a large brain and active temperament, with predominating Combativeness, Destructiveness, Self-Esteem, Love of Approbation, and Firmness, will carry an individual to the rank of a chief or leader of his countrymen, with a very limited portion of morality and reflecting intellect.

The next step in the progress of mankind, is the agricultural condition; and this implies a still higher evolution of intellect and moral sentiment. To sow

in spring with a view of reaping in autumn, requires not only economy and prudence in preserving stores and stock, and the exercise of ingenuity in fabricating implements of husbandry, but a stretch of reflection embracing the whole intermediate period, and a subjugation of the impatient animal propensities to the intellectual powers. To insure to him who sows, that *he* shall also reap, requires a general combination in defence of property, and a practical acknowledgment of the claims of justice, which indicate decided activity in the moral sentiments. Accordingly, we discover that the brains of nations in this state, are more highly developed, in the moral and intellectual regions, than those of tribes who are still savage.

In order to reach the highest rank in this stage of society, individuals must possess a greater endowment of reflecting intellect and moral sentiment, in proportion to their animal propensities, than were necessary to attain supremacy in the pastoral state.

When nations become commercial, and devote themselves to manufactures, their pursuits demand the activity of still higher faculties, together with extensive knowledge of natural objects, their relations and qualities. In this condition, we perceive arts and sciences extensively cultivated; processes of manufacture of great complexity, and extending over a long period of time, successfully conducted; extensive transactions between individuals, living often in different hemispheres, and who probably never saw each other personally, carried on with regularity, integrity, and despatch; laws devised regulating the rights and duties of individuals engaged in the most complicated transactions; and the whole of this machinery moving with a smoothness and regularity which are truly admirable. Such a scene is a high manifestation of moral and intellectual power; and man, contemplated in this

condition, appears, for the first time, really like a rational being. Phrenology shews that the organs of the superior faculties develope themselves more fully in proportion to the advances of civilization, and that they are, *de facto*, largest in the most moral and enlightened nations.

This is the stage at which society has arrived in our day, in a great part of Europe and in the United States of America. In other parts of the globe the inferior conditions still appear. But even in the most advanced nations, the triumph of the rational portion of man's nature is not complete. Our institutions, manners, desires, and aspirations, still partake, to a great extent, of the characteristics of the propensities. Wars from motives of aggrandizement or ambition, cruel laws, artificial restrictions, calculated to maintain certain classes in possession of power and advantages, to the exclusion of others; inordinate love of wealth, overweening ambition, and many other inferior desires,—still flourish in vigor among us. In such a state of society, it is impossible that the virtuous and intelligent alone should reach the highest pinnacles of fortune.

In Britain, that individual is fitted to be most successful in the career of wealth and its attendant advantages, who possesses vigorous health, industrious habits, great selfishness, a powerful intellect, and just so much of the moral feelings as to serve for the profitable direction of his animal powers. This combination of endowments would render self-aggrandizement and worldly minded prudence the leading motives of his actions; would furnish intellect sufficient to give them effect, and morality adequate to restrain them from abuses, or from defeating their own gratification. A person so constituted would feel his faculties to be in harmony with his external condition; he

has no lofty aspirations after either goodness or enjoyment which he cannot realize; he is pleased to dedicate his undivided energies to the active business of life, and he is generally successful. He acquires wealth and distinction, stands high in the estimation of society, transmits comfort and abundance to his family, and dies in a good old age.

His mind, however, obviously, does not belong to the highest class; yet being in harmony with external circumstances, and little annoyed by the imperfections which are every where to be seen, it is one of that class which alone is reasonably happy and successful, in the present social condition of Britain. It is so, because we are in that stage of our moral and intellectual progress which corresponds with the supremacy of that combination of faculties. In savage times, the rude, athletic warrior was the chief of his tribe; and he was also probably the most happy, because he possessed, in the greatest degree, the qualities necessary for success in his circumstances, and was deficient in all the feelings which could not, in them, obtain gratification. If he had enjoyed Benevolence, Ideality, Veneration, and Conscientiousness largely developed, he would have been unhappy, by the aspirations which they would have introduced into his mind, after higher objects and conditions than he could realize. The same rule holds good in our case. Those individuals who have either too little of the selfish propensities, or too much of the higher moral feelings, are neither successful nor happy in the present state of British society. The former cannot successfully maintain their ground, in the great struggle for property which is going on around them; while the latter, although they may be able to keep their places in the competition for wealth, are constantly grieved by the misery and imperfection which they

are compelled to witness, and are incapable of removing. They have the habitual consciousness, also, that they are laboring for the mere means of enjoyment, without ever reaching enjoyment itself; and that their lives are spent, as it were, in a feverish dream.

In these examples, we observe that society has been slowly but regularly advancing, so as more and more to elevate virtue and intelligence to public honor. The impediments to a just reward of individual merit, do not, therefore, appear to be inherent in human nature, but contingent. There are, however, *artificial* impediments to the accomplishment of this end. Among these are hereditary titles of honor.

The feudal kings of Europe early acquired, or assumed, the power of conferring titles of honor and dignity on men of distinguished qualities, as a mark of approbation of their conduct, and as a reward for their services to the state. To the conferring of a title of honor upon the man who has done an important service to his country, reason and morality have nothing to object. Hence arose the institution of individual nobles. The favored peer, however, naturally loved his offspring; and without considering any consequences beyond his own gratification, he induced the king to add a right of succession, in favor of his children, to the honors and privileges conferred on himself for his merits. We now know that if he himself had really been one of *nature's* nobility, and if he had allied himself to a partner, also possessing high qualities of brain and general constitution, and if the two had lived habitually in accordance with the natural laws, he would have transmitted his natural nobility to his children; and they, having the stamp of nature's honor on them, would have needed no patent from an earthly sovereign, to maintain them in their father's

rank. But this law of nature being unknown, or the noble, perhaps, having attained to distinction by one or two distinguished qualities merely, which were much in demand in his own day, and being still deficient in many high endowments; or, having married an inferior partner, from passion, love of wealth, ambition, or some other unworthy motive,—he is conscious that he cannot rely on his children inheriting natural superiority, and he therefore desires, by artificial means, to preserve to them forever, the rank, wealth, titles, and power, which he has acquired, and which nature intended to be the rewards, solely, of superior endowments. The king grants a right of succession to the children, to the titles, rank, and dignity, and Parliament authorizes him to place his estates under entail, by which means, his heirs in succession, however profligate, imbecile, and unworthy of honor and distinction, continue to hold the highest rank in society, to exercise the privilege of hereditary legislation, and to draw the revenues of immense estates, which they squander, or devote to the most immoral of purposes. In these instances, legislators have endeavored directly to contradict nature. All this, you will perceive, is following out the principle, that individual aggrandizement is the great object of each successive occupant of this world. The attempts, however, are not successful. They are productive, often, of misery, as every one knows, who has observed the wretched condition in which many nobles and heirs of entail exist, whose profligacy and imbecility render them unfit for their artificial station.

In regard to society at large, the result of such a practice is, that a false standard of consideration is set up, and the respect and admiration of the people are frequently directed to ridiculous customs sanctioned by nobles, and to other unworthy objects. Be-

sides, it presents false objects of ambition to the industrious class of all grades. In proportion as one of them attains wealth, instead of devoting it, and the talents, by means of which it was acquired, to the improvement and elevation of the class from which he has sprung, he becomes ashamed of them, is fired with the ambition of being created a noble; and is generally found wielding his whole energies, natural and acquired, in the ranks of the aristocracy against the people. If the distinctions instituted by nature, were left to operate by themselves, the effect would be that the people at large would venerate in others, and desire themselves to become distinguished for those qualities, which are esteemed most highly according to their own moral and intellectual perceptions; the standard of consideration would be rectified and raised in exact proportion to their advance in knowledge and wisdom; and the removal of the obstruction to this advance, created by artificial and hereditary rank, would tend greatly to hasten the march of real improvement.

In the United States of America, where no distinct class of nobility exists, we are told that aristocratic feelings, and all the pride of ancestry, are at least as rampant as in England, where the whole framework of society is constituted in reference to the ascendency of an ancient and powerful aristocracy; and I see no reason to doubt the statement. Difference of rank was instituted when the Creator bestowed different degrees and combinations of the mental organs on different men, and rendered them all improvable by education. It is natural, rational, and beneficial, therefore, to esteem and admire nature's nobility; men greatly gifted with the highest qualities of our nature, who have duly cultivated and applied them. The Creator, also, in conferring on man the power

to transmit his qualities and condition to his offspring, by means of his organization, has laid the foundation for our admiration of a long line of illustrious ancestors; because this direction of ambition may become a strong assistant to morality and reason, in inducing men to attend to the organic laws in their matrimonial alliances, and in their general conduct through life. According to the doctrines of Phrenology, if two persons, both in possession of high mental and bodily qualities, were to marry, to observe the natural laws during their lives, to rear a family, and to train them also to yield steady obedience to these laws in *their* conduct,—the result would be, that the children would inherit the superior qualities of their parents, hold the same high rank in the estimation of society, be prosperous in life, and in short, be specimens of human nature in its best forms and condition. If these children observed the organic laws in their marriages, and obeyed them in their lives, the tendency of nature would be still to transmit, in an increasing ratio, their excellent endowments to *their* children; and there is no ascertained limits to this series. It would be a just gratification to Self-Esteem, to belong to a family which could boast of a succession of noble men and women, descending through ten or twelve generations; and it would be an object of most legitimate ambition to be admitted to the honor and advantages of an alliance with it. This is the direction which the natural sentiments of family pride and admiration of ancestry, will take whenever the public intellect is enlightened concerning the laws of our constitution. In times past, we have seen these two instincts acting as blindly and perniciously, as Veneration does, when in the absence of all true knowledge, it expends itself in absurd and preposterous superstitions. It, however, is always performing its

proper function of venerating, and it is ready to take a better direction, when it receives illumination; and the same will hold good with the two instincts in question.

At a time when war and rapine were the distinguishing occupations of nobles, men were proud of their descent from a great border chieftain, who was really only a thief and a robber on a great scale. At present, great self-congratulation is experienced by many individuals, because they are descended from a family which received a patent of nobility five hundred years ago, and has been maintained, since that time, by means of entails in possession of immense wealth, although during that period their annals may have commemorated as many profligates, imbeciles, and idiots, as wise and virtuous men. Many commoners, also, who have inherited sound brains and respectable characters from their own obscure, but excellent ancestors, are ashamed of their humble birth, and proud of an alliance with this illustrious, but immoral and imbecile stock. But all this is the result of gross misdirection of Veneration and Love of Approbation, which increasing knowledge will assuredly correct. It indicates an infatuation of vanity, compared with which, wearing bones in the nose, and tatooing the skin, are harmless, and respectable customs. If, in a country like Britain, a family has preserved property and high rank, for several generations, without a patent of nobility, and without entails, they must have possessed, through successive generations, sound practical understandings, and respectable morality; and they are, therefore, really worthy of respect: and the fact that there are several, perhaps I might say many, such families, is a proof that artificial hereditary rank and entails are merely imperfect devices for accomplishing

ends which can be attained effectually and beneficially only by natural means.

It forms no argument against these views, that in America there is as jealous a distinction of ranks, and as strong an admiration of ancestry as in Britain; because these feelings are admitted to be natural, while it is certain that the mass of American society is not more enlightened in regard to their proper direction, than our own countrymen. The founders of the American republic, however, were great and enlightened men, and they conferred a boon of the highest value on their posterity, when, by prohibiting artificial hereditary ranks and titles, they withdrew the temptations to misdirected ambition which they naturally present.

We thus account for the fact, that the best of men do not always attain the highest stations and richest social rewards, by the circumstance of society being progressive, of its being yet only in an early stage of its career, and by its honoring in every stage those qualities which it prizes most highly at the time, although these may be low in the real scale of moral and intellectual excellence. And secondly, by the impediments to a right adjustment of social honors presented by the institution of artificial, and hereditary rank.

It is an interesting inquiry, whether society is destined to remain forever in its present state, or in some one analogous to it, or to advance to a more perfect condition of intelligence, morality and happiness; and if the latter be a reasonable expectation, by what means its future improvement is to be accomplished? To be able to answer this question, I shall attempt to dissect and represent with some minuteness, the principles which chiefly characterize our present social condition, and compare them with our faculties as re-

vealed by the physiology of the brain. We shall, by this means, discover to what class of our faculties our existing institutions are most directly related. If they gratify our highest powers, we may regard ourselves as having approached the limits of that perfection permitted by our nature; if they do not gratify these, we may hope still to advance.

There are two views of human nature, both of which are plausible, and may be supported by many facts and arguments. The first is, that man is essentially a mere superior animal, destined to draw his chief enjoyments from a regulated activity of his animal nature. I do not mean his mere sensual appetites, but the whole class of faculties common to him and the inferior creatures, and which have individual interests for their object. Life, for example, may be regarded as given to us that we may enjoy the pleasures of sense, of rearing a family, of accumulating wealth, of acquiring distinction, and also of gratifying the intellect and imagination by literature, science, and the arts. According to this view, self-interest, and individual aggrandizement, would be the leading motives of all sensible men during life; and the moral faculties would be used chiefly to control and direct these selfish propensities in seeking their gratifications, so as to prevent them from unduly injuring our neighbors, and endangering our own prosperity. There would be no leading moral object in life; our enjoyments would not necessarily depend on the happiness and prosperity of our fellow men; and the whole duty of the higher sentiments would be to watch and direct the lower.

The other view is, that man is essentially a rational and moral being, destined to draw his chief happiness from the pursuit of objects directly related to his moral and intellectual faculties, the propensities acting mere-

ly as the servants of the sentiments, to maintain and assist them while pursuing their high and beneficent objects. History represents man, in past ages, as having been ever in the former condition; either openly pursuing the gratification of the propensities, as the avowed and only object of life, or merely curbing them so far as to enable him to attain the higher satisfaction from them, but never directly pursuing moral ends as the chief object of his existence. This also, is our present condition.

Even in civilized communities, each individual who is not born to hereditary fortune, enters into a vivid competition for wealth, power, and distinction, with all who move in his own sphere. Life is spent in one incessant struggle. We initiate our children into the system, at the very dawn of their intelligence. We place them in classes at school, and offer them marks of merit, and prizes to stimulate their ambition; and we estimate their attainments, not according to the extent of useful knowledge which they have gained, but according to the place which they hold in relation to their fellows. It is proximity to being dux which is the grand distinction, and this implies the marked inferiority of all below the successful competitor.

In entering into the business of life, the same system is pursued. The manufacturer taxes his invention and his powers of application to the utmost, that he may outstrip his neighbors in producing better and cheaper commodities, and reaping a greater profit than they; the trader keeps his shop open earlier and later, and promises greater bargains than his rival, that he may attract customers. If a house be built, or a steam engine fitted up, a specification, or minute description of the object wanted, is drawn up, copies are handed to a number of tradesmen; they make

offers to execute it at a certain sum, and the lowest offerer is preferred. The extent of difference in these offers is enormous. I was one of several public commissioners, who received offers for building a bridge, the highest of which was £21,036 sterling, and the lowest £13,749 sterling. I received six offers for building a house, and the highest was £1975 sterling, and the lowest £1500 sterling. I have seen differences equally great for machinery and works of various kinds. I have made inquiries to ascertain whence these differences arose, and found them accounted for, by the following causes. Sometimes an offer is made by a tradesman, who knows himself to be insolvent, so that he has nothing to lose, but who is aware that this state of his affairs is not publicly known, so that his credit is still good. As long as he can go on in trade, he has the means of supporting and educating his family, and every year passed in accomplishing this object, is so much gained. He can keep his trade in motion, only by obtaining a regular succession of employment, and he secures this by under-bidding every man who has a shilling to lose. Bankruptcy is the inevitable end of this career, and the men who have property, ultimately sustain the loss arising from his unjust and pernicious system, but it serves his purpose for a time, and this is all that he regards. Another and a more legitimate cause of low bidding is the reverse of this. A trader has accumulated capital, and buys every article at the cheapest rate with ready money;—he is frugal, and spends little in his family; he is active and sharp in his habits and temper, and exacts a great deal of labor from his workmen in return for their wages. By these three qualities combined, he is enabled to underbid every rival who is inferior to him in any one of them. I am informed that the difference in the cost of production

to a master tradesman in whom all these three principles are united, compared with one in different circumstances, and of different dispositions, is equal to 15 or 20 per cent.

Viewed on the principle that the object of life is self-aggrandizement, all this order of proceeding appears to be proper and profitable. But if you trace out the moral effects of it, they are extremely questionable.

The tendency of the system is to throw an accumulating burden of mere labor on the industrious classes. I am told that in some of the great machine manufactories in the west of Scotland, men labor for sixteen hours a day, stimulated by additions to their wages in proportion to the quantity of work which they produce. Masters who push trade on a great scale, exact the most energetic and long continued exertion from all the artisans whom they employ. In such circumstances, man becomes at once a mere laboring animal. Excessive muscular exertion drains off the nervous energy from the brain; and when labor ceases sleep ensues, unless the artificial stimulus of intoxicating liquors be applied to rouse the dormant mental organs and confer a temporary enjoyment, which, in such instances, is very generally the case. To call a man, who passes his life in such a routine of occupation,—eating, sleeping, laboring and drinking,—a christian, an immortal being, preparing by his exertions here, for an eternity hereafter, to be passed in the society of pure, intelligent and blessed spirits,—is a complete mockery. He is preparing for himself a premature grave, in which he shall be laid, exhausted with toil and benumbed in all the higher attributes of his nature, more like a jaded and maltreated horse, than a human being. Yet this system pervades every department of practical life in these islands. If a

farm be advertised to be let, tenants compete with each other in bidding high rents, which, when carried to excess, can be paid only by their converting themselves and their servants into laboring animals, bestowing on the land the last effort of their strength and skill, and resting satisfied with the least possible enjoyment from it in return.

By the competition of individual interests, directed to the acquisition of property and the attainment of distinction, the practical members of society are not only powerfully stimulated to exertion, but actually forced to submit to a most jading, laborious and endless course of toil; in which neither time, opportunity, nor inclination, is left for the cultivation and enjoyment of the higher powers of the mind.

The whole order and institutions of society are framed in harmony with this principle. The law prohibits men from using force and fraud in order to acquire property, but sets no limits to their employment of all other means. Our education and mode of transacting mercantile business, support the same system of selfishness. It is an approved maxim, that secresy is the soul of trade; and each manufacturer and merchant pursues his separate speculations secretly, so that his rivals may know as little as possible of the kind and quantity of goods which he is manufacturing, of the sources whence he draws his materials, or the channels by which he disposes of his produce. The direct advantage of this system is, that it confers a superiority on the man of acute and extensive observation and profound sagacity. He contrives to penetrate many of the secrets which are attempted, though not very successfully, to be kept; and he directs his own trade and manufacture, not always according to the current in which his neighbors are floating, but rather according to the results which he foresees will

take place from the course which they are following; and then the days of their adversity become those of his prosperity. The general effect of the system, however, is, that each trader stretches his capital, his credit, his skill, and his industry, to produce the utmost possible quantity of goods, under the idea, that the more he manufactures and sells, the more profit he will reap. But as all his neighbors are animated by the same spirit, *they* manufacture as much as possible also; and none of them know certainly how much the other traders in their own line are producing, or how much of the commodity in which they deal, the public will really want, pay for and consume, within any specific time. The consequence is, that a superfluity of goods is produced, the market is glutted, prices fall ruinously low,—and all the manufacturers who have proceeded on credit, or who have limited capital, become bankrupt, and the effects of their rash speculations fall on their creditors. They are, however, excluded from trade for a season,—the other manufacturers restrict their operations,—the operatives are thrown idle, or their wages are greatly reduced;—the surplus commodities are at length consumed, demand revives, prices rise, and the same rush towards production again takes place; and thus in all trades the pendulum oscillates, generation after generation, first towards prosperity, then to the equal balance, then towards adversity,—back again to equality, and once more rises to prosperity.

The ordinary observer perceives in this system what he considers to be the natural, the healthy, and the inevitable play of the constituent elements of human nature. He discovers many advantages attending it, and some evils; but these he regards as inseparable from all that belongs to mortal man. The competition of individual interests, for example, he

assures us, keeps the human energies alive, and stimulates all to the highest exercise of the bodily and mental powers; and the result is, that abundance of every article that man needs, is poured into the general treasury of civilized life, even to superfluity. We are all interested, he continues, in cheap production; and although we apparently suffer by an excessive reduction in the prices of our own commodities, the evil is transitory, and the ultimate effect is unmixed good, for all our neighbors are running the same career of over-production with ourselves. While we are reducing our shoes to a ruinously low price, the stocking maker is doing the same with his stockings, and the hat maker with his hats; and after we all shall have exchanged article for article, we shall still obtain as many pairs of stockings, and as many hats, for any given quantity of shoes, as ever; so that the real effect of competition is to render the nation richer, to enable it to maintain more inhabitants, or to provide for those it possesses more abundantly, without rendering any individuals poorer. The evils attending the rise and fall of fortune, or the heart-breaking scenes of bankruptcy, and the occasional degradation of one family and elevation of another, they regard as storms in the moral, corresponding to those in the physical world, which, although inconvenient to the individuals whom they overtake, are, on the whole, beneficial, by stirring and purifying the atmosphere; and, regarding this life as a mere pilgrimage to a better, they view these incidental misfortunes as means of preparation for a higher sphere.

This representation has so much of actual truth in it, and such an infinite plausibility, that it is almost adventurous in me to question its soundness; yet I am forced to do so, or to give up my best and bright-

est hope of human nature and its destinies. In making these remarks, of course I blame no individuals. It is the system which I condemn. Individuals are as much controlled by the social system in which they live, as a raft is by the current in which it floats.

In all the system which I have described, you will discover no motives higher than those furnished by the propensities, regulated by justice, animating the competing members of society in their evolutions. The grand object of each is to gain as much wealth, and, as its consequence, as much power and distinction to himself as possible: he pursues this object without any direct regard to his neighbor's interest or welfare; and no high moral or intellectual aim elevates, ennobles, or adorns his career. The first effect is that he dedicates his whole powers and energies to the production of the mere *means of living*, and he forces all his fellows to devote their lives to precisely the same pursuits. If leisure for moral and intellectual cultivation be necessary to the enjoyment of a rational, a moral and a religious being, this is excluded; for his labor is incessant during six days of the week, and the effect of this is to benumb his faculties on the seventh. If the soft play of the affections; if the enjoyment of the splendid loveliness of nature and the beauties of art; if the expansion of the intellect in the pursuits of science; if refinement of manners; if strengthening and improving the tone and forms of our physical frames; and if the adoration, with minds full of knowledge and souls melting with love, of our most bounteous Creator, constitute the real object of human life in this world, and the end for which we live; and if the fulfilment of this end be the only rational idea of preparation for a higher state of existence; then the system of action

which we have contemplated, when viewed as the leading object of human life, appears stale, barren, and unprofitable. It no doubt supports the activity of our minds and bodies, and surrounds us with innumerable temporal advantages, not to be lightly valued; but its benefits end here. It affords an example of the independence of the several natural laws. The system is one in which the mind and body are devoted for ten or twelve hours a day, on six days in the week, to the production of those useful and ornamental articles that constitute wealth; and in this end we are eminently successful: verily we have our reward; for no nation in the world possesses so much wealth as Britain; none displays such vast property in the possession of individuals of every rank; none approaches her in the general splendor of living; and none in the multitude of inhabitants who live in idleness and luxury, on the accumulated fruits of industry. But still, with all the dazzling advantages which Britain derives from her wealth, she is very far from being happy. Her large towns are overrun with pauperism and heathenism; and in many English counties, even the agricultural population was lately engaged in burning corn stacks and farm offices, out of sheer misery and discontent. The overwrought manufacturers are too generally degraded by intemperance, licentiousness, and other forms of vice. In the classes distinguished by industry and morality, the keen competition for employment and profit imposes excessive labor and anxiety on nearly all; while the higher classes are not unfrequently the victims of idleness, vanity, ambition, vice, ennui, and a thousand attendant sufferings of body and mind. The pure, calm, dignified, and lasting felicity which our higher feelings pant for, and which reason whispers ought to be our aim, is seldom or never attained.

The present condition of society, therefore, does not seem to be the most perfect which human nature is capable of reaching: hitherto man has been progressive, and there is no reason to believe that he has yet reached the goal. In the next lecture will be stated some grounds for expecting brighter prospects in future.

LECTURE X.

THE CONSIDERATION OF THE PRESENT AND PROSPECTIVE CONDITION OF SOCIETY CONTINUED.

I proceed to point out some additional examples of the results of the competition of individual interests.

Apparently, the evils of the selfish system have the tendency to prolong and extend themselves indefinitely. We have seen, for example, that the institution of different employments is natural, springing from differences in native talent and inclination. This leads to the division of labor, by which each person has it in his power to confine his exertions to that species of art for which he has the greatest aptitude and liking; while, by interchanging commodities, all become richer. But under the present system, this institution is attended with considerable disadvantages. Workmen are trained to perform the minutest portions of labor on a particular article, and to do nothing else: one man can point a pin, and do no more; another can make the pin's head, and finish no other part of it; one can make the eye of a needle, and can neither fashion the body, nor point it. In preparing steam engines, there are now even different branches of trade, and different workshops for the different parts. One person makes boilers, another casts the frame works and heavy iron beams, a third makes cylinders, a fourth pistons, and so on; and the person

who furnishes steam engines to the public, merely goes to these different workshops, buys the different parts of the skeleton, and his own trade consists in fitting them together, and selling the engine entire.

These arrangements produce commodities better and cheaper, than if one man made the whole needle or pin, or one manufactory fabricated the whole steam engine; but there is an attendant disadvantage, when we view the system in its moral effects. It rears an immense number of industrious men, who are utterly ignorant, except of the minute details of their own small department of art, and who are altogether useless and helpless, except when combined under one employer. If not counteracted in its effects by an extensive education, it renders the workmen entirely incapable of discharging their duties as parents, or members of society, by leaving them ignorant of every thing, except their narrow department of trade. It leaves them also exposed, by ignorance, to become the dupes of political agitators and fanatics, and renders them dependent on the capitalist. Trained from infancy to a minute operation, their mental culture neglected, and destitute of capital, they are incapable of exercising sound judgment on any subject, and of combining their labor and their skill for the promotion of their own advantage. They are, therefore, the mere implements of trade of men of more enlarged minds and more extensive property; and as these men also compete keenly, talent against talent, and capital against capital, each of them is compelled to throw back a part of the burden on his artisans, demanding more labor, and giving less wages, to enable him to maintain his own position.

Nor does the capitalist escape the evils of the system. In consequence of manufacturer competing

with manufacturer, and merchant with merchant, who will execute most work, and sell it cheapest, profits fall extremely low, and the rate of interest, which is just the proportion of profit corresponding to the capital employed in trade, becomes depressed also. The result is, that the artisan's wages are lowered to the verge of a decent subsistence, earned by his utmost exertions; the manufacturer and merchant are exposed to incessant toil and risk, and are moderately recompensed; and the capitalist, who desires to retire from active business, and live on the produce of his previous industry, in the form of interest, participates in their depression, and starves on the smallest pittance of annual return. Thus, selfish competition presents the anomaly of universal abundance co-existing with individual want, and a ceaseless struggle to obtain objects fitted chiefly to gratify our inferior powers.

While the competition of individual interests continues to be the rule in society, the field even of benevolence itself, is greatly limited. It becomes extremely difficult to do good to one individual, or class of individuals, without doing an equal injury to others. Nothing, for example, can at first sight appear more meritorious and beneficial, than the institution of such charitable endowmeuts as that of Heriot's hospital, or the hospitals founded by the two Watsons, of this city, in which children of decayed or deceased parents, belonging to the industrious classes, are educated, provided for, and set out in life. Yet objections to them have been stated, on very plausible grounds. According to the principles which I have endeavored to expound in the preceding lectures, children do not, in general, become destitute, except in consequence of great infringement of one or more of the natural laws, by their parents;—if the parents died prematurely, they must, in most cases, (for acci-

dents will happen, even with the utmost care,) have inherited feeble constitutions, or disobeyed, in their actual conduct, the organic laws; and the destitution of their children is the natural punishment of these offences. If the father have been in trade, have failed, and fallen into poverty, he must have been deficient in some of the qualities or habits necessary for success, and his destitution is the natural consequence of these deficiencies. Now, amidst the competition of individual interests, there are always a considerable number of meritorious persons, who with great difficulty are able to maintain themselves and their families in the station in which they were born, and who succeed in doing so, and in educating their children, only by submitting to incessant toil, and great sacrifices of their own enjoyments. I have heard such persons make the following remarks:—"Do you see that young man?—he was educated in Heriot's hospital, and by the influence of the managers of that institution, was received as an apprentice into a thriving mercantile establishment, into which I had in vain endeavored to get one of my sons introduced. He is now head clerk. Well! benevolence is not always justice:—that boy's father was sporting his horse and gig, and living like a gentleman, while I was toiling, and saving;—he fell from his gig and broke his neck, when he had drunk too much wine. At his death, his affairs were found to be in bankruptcy; but he had good friends; his children were taken into the hospitals, and here you see the end of it;—his boy comes out of the hospital better educated than my sons, and, supported by the influence of the managers, he prevents mine from getting into a good situation, by stepping into it himself;—this, I say, may be benevolence, but it is not justice." This is not an imaginary dialogue; I have heard the argument stated again and

again, and I could never see a satisfactory answer to it. It would be cruelty to abandon the children, even of the victims of such misconduct as is here described, to want, crime, and misery; yet surely there must be some defect in the leading principle of our social institutions, when a benevolent provision for them really has the effect of obstructing the path and hindering the prosperity of the children of more meritorious individuals.

I have heard this line of argument pushed still farther. An acute reasoner often maintained in my presence, that if one hundred single men, and one thousand quarters of wheat were both in one ship, the loss of the men would be no public evil, while the loss of the wheat would be a real one. He proved his position by arguing that in this country the competition for employment is so great, that the removal of one hundred individuals from any branch of labor, would only benefit those who were left, by rendering the competition less arduous, and their remuneration greater; whereas, the loss of one thousand quarters of wheat would necessarily lead to a diminution of the diet of a certain number of the poorest of the people. All the wheat which we possess, he said, is annually consumed; if it be abundant, it is cheap, and the poor get a larger share;—if it be scarce, it is dear, and the deficiency falls upon the poor exclusively;—the loss even of one thousand quarters, therefore, would have stinted the poor, it may be only to a fractional extent, but still, to a real extent, and sufficient to establish the principle contended for; so that, continued my friend, British society is actually in that condition in which the loss of food is a greater public calamity, than the loss of men.

This argument appears to me, to be sound in principle, although wire-drawn. The answer to it is, that

our benevolent feelings, which, although obstructed under the selfish system, are not extinguished, would receive so much pain from seeing one hundred human beings deprived of the pleasures of existence, that even the poor would cheerfully sacrifice many meals, to contribute to their preservation. If the events are contemplated apart from the pain or gratification which our benevolent feelings experience from them, and if the amount of good and evil, not to the one hundred sufferers, but to the community at large, be solely regarded, the loss of men, in a country like this, does appear a smaller misfortune than the loss of food. Ireland affords a striking illustration. The purest philanthropist will confess, that a destroying angel, who in one night, should slay one million of human beings, men, women, and children, in that country, would occasion infinitely less suffering, than would arise from any considerable deficiency in their potatoe crop.* I see it mentioned in the newspapers, that at this moment, (June 1835,) the peasantry in the west of Ireland, are suffering all the horrors of famine through failure of their potatoe crop. Although corn is abundant, and is daily exported to England, they are too poor to purchase it. The Irish peasantry, habitually on the brink of starvation, and exposed to the great-

* There is more of benevolent arrangement in the tendency of savage and barbarous tribes, to wage furious wars with each other, than at first sight appears. The Irish peasantry are still barbarous in their minds and habits, and but for the presence of a large army of civilized men, who preserve the peace, they would fight and exterminate each other. It is questionable whether the miseries that would attend such a course of action, would exceed those which are actually endured from starvation. The bane of Ireland is, that her population has increased far more rapidly than her capital, morality, and knowledge. Where a nation is left to follow its own course, this does not occur. Dissension keeps down the numbers, until intelligence, capital, and industry take the lead. England prevented the Irish from fighting, but she did little to improve them.

est destitution, stand at one end of the agricultural scale, and the great landed proprietors of England, with revenues of £100,000 per annum, rolling in every kind of luxury, occupy the other. The hand-loom weavers of Britain, earning 5*s* a week by the labor of six days, of 14 hours each, are at the base of the manufacturing system, while the Peels and Arkwrights, worth millions of pounds, appear at the summit. There is something *not* agreeable to our moral sentiments, and *not* conformable to the brother-loving, and wealth-despising precepts of christianity in a system of which these are the natural effects, and according to which, even benevolence cannot be manifested towards one human being without indirectly doing injury to another.

Another example of the solidity and consistency of the prevailing system may be noticed. Many persons erroneously imagine that there is no social obstacle to the rich leaving off their vanities and luxuries, and dedicating their surplus revenues to moral and religious purposes, and that great good would result from their doing so; but the consequences, even of this virtuous measure, would, while the present system endures, prove highly detrimental to thousands of meritorious persons. Multitudes of laborious and virtuous families subsist by furnishing materials for the luxuries of the rich, and a change in the direction of their expenditure would involve these families in ruin. Fluctuations in fashion, as taste varies, often occasion great temporary suffering to this class of the community, but a total abandonment of all luxurious indulgences, on the part of the wealthy, would involve them in irretrievable starvation.

We perceive, therefore, that the general arrangements of our existing social system, evidently bear reference to the supremacy of our lower faculties. The

pursuit of wealth at present, generally ends in the gratification of Self-Esteem and Love of Approbation. The attainment of power and distinction in politics, in rank, or in fashion, is the Alpha and Omega of the machinery of our social system, yet it does not produce general happiness. Every moral, and I may almost say religious, advantage is incidental to, and not a part of the system itself. There are laws to compel us to pay taxes, to maintain officers of justice, whose duty it is to punish crime after it is committed, but there are no general laws to prevent crime by means of penitentiaries, and of abundant and instructive schools;*—there *are laws* which tax us to support armies and navies for the purpose of fighting our neighbors, but no laws to compel us to pay taxes for the purpose of providing, in our great cities, the humblest luxuries, nay almost necessaries for the poor, such as baths to preserve their health, reading rooms, or places of instruction and amusement, in which their rational faculties may be cultivated after their days of toil are finished; or for the physical improvement of our cities. There are taxes to maintain the utterly destitute and miserably poor after they have fallen into that condition, but none to provide means for arresting them in their downward progress towards it. In short, the system, as one of self interest, is wonderfully perfect. From the beginning to the end of it, prizes are held out to the laborious, intelligent, and moral, who choose to dedicate their lives out and out, honestly and fairly, to the general scramble for property and distinction; but equal facilities are presented to all who are incapable of maintaining this struggle, to fall down, and to sink to the lowest depths of wretchedness and degradation. When they have reached the bottom, and

* The United States are happily free from this reproach.

are helpless, and completely undone, the hand of a meagre charity is stretched forth to support life, till disappointment, penury and old age, consign them to the grave. The taxes occasioned by our national and immoral wars, render us unable to support imposts for moral objects.

Now, it is worthy of remark, that if the system of individual aggrandizement be the necessary, unalterable and highest result of the human faculties as constituted by nature, it altogether excludes the possibility of christianity ever becoming practical in this world. The leading and distinguishing moral precepts of christianity, are those which command us to do to others as we would wish that they should do unto us; to love our neighbors as ourselves; and not to permit our minds to become engrossed in the pursuit of wealth, or infatuated by the vanity and ambition of the world. But if a constant struggle for supremacy in wealth and station be unavoidable among men, it is clearly impossible for us to obey such precepts, which must therefore be as little adapted to our nature and condition, as the command to love and protect poultry, but never to eat them, would be to that of the fox. Instead, therefore, of divines teaching christian morality, it would be wiser, if the system of competition of individual interests be the highest that our nature admits of, in them to follow the example of the political economists, and to suit their precepts to the human constitution. Political economists in general regard the existing forms and condition of society as the permanent result of our natural faculties, and as destined to be the lot of man to the end of time. In perfect consistency with this view, they propose to provide for the increasing welfare of the race, by exalting the aim of the selfish principles, and directing them more beneficially by extended knowledge. They

would educate the operative classes, and thereby confer on them mental energy, fortitude, and a rational ambition,—after which it might be expected that they would not consent to labor, like the lower animals, merely for the humblest subsistence, but would consider decent comforts, if not simple luxuries, essential to their enjoyment, and demand wages adequate to the command of these, as the recompense of their industry and skill. As long, however, as the system of individual aggrandizement is maintained, it will be the interest of the class immediately above the operatives, who subsist on the profits of their labor, to prevent the growth of improved notions and principles of action, for the laborer is in the most profitable condition for his master's service when he possesses just intelligence and morality sufficient to enable him to discharge his duties faithfully, but so little as to feel neither the ambition nor the power of effectually improving his circumstances. And accordingly, the maintenance of the laboring classes in this state of contentment and toil, is the beau ideal of practical philosophy, with many excellent individuals in the higher and middle ranks of life. Under this system, the aim of the teacher of morality and religion is to render the operative classes quiet and industrious laborers, toiling patiently through this life in poverty and obscurity, and looking forward to heaven as their only place of rest and enjoyment. Under the selfish system, religion and morality do not aspire to the establishment *on earth* of what I regard as the truly christian character,—that in which each individual will find his neighbor's happiness an essential element in his own; in which he shall truly love his neighbor as himself, and in which labor, and the attainment of wealth, shall not be the end or objects of his existence,—but simply the means of enabling him

to live in comfort and in leisure, to exercise habitually his moral and intellectual faculties, and to draw from them his chief delights. According to the present system, the attainment of this condition is deferred till we arrive in heaven. Now, if human nature be capable of realizing this state on earth, it is a pity to postpone it till after death; more especially, as there is every warrant, both in reason and scripture, for believing that every step which we make towards it in this life, will prove so much of a real advance towards it hereafter.

It is now time, however, to enter on the consideration of the main subject of the present lecture—the question, whether the human faculties, and their relations to external objects, admit of man ascending in the scale of morality, intelligence, and religion, to that state in which the evils of individual competition shall be obviated, and full scope be afforded for the actual supremacy of the highest powers.

On contemplating man's endowments in a general point of view, nothing would appear more simple and easy than practically to realize the general and permanent supremacy of the moral powers. We have seen that aptitude for labor is conferred on him by the Creator, so that if he were enlightened in regard to his own constitution and the sources of his own welfare, he would desire to labor for his own gratification, even independently of the reward in the form of food, raiment and physical abundance, which it is the means of procuring. Again,—the earth and the external world generally, are created with an admirable adaptation to his bodily and mental powers, so as to recompense him, by immense rewards, for a very moderate extent of exertion in applying them to his own advantage. Further—man has been endowed with inventive and co-operative faculties, which confer on him a

vast ingenuity, and render him capable of impressing, not only the inferior animals, but fire, air, and water, into his service as laborers: And finally, he has received organs of Benevolence, prompting him to love all sentient beings, and to delight in their happiness; organs of Conscientiousness, desiring to see universal justice reign; organs of Ideality, which aspire after universal perfection and loveliness; with organs of Veneration, Wonder, and Hope, leading him to desire communion with God, and to rejoice in the contemplation of all that is pure, exalted and beneficent.

With such a constitution, and placed in such circumstances, the wonder is that he has wandered in error and misery so long. The explanation is rendered clear by Phrenology. In addition to these high moral and intellectual endowments, man possesses animal propensities, which are blind, selfish instincts. They are necessary for his sustenance, and their organs are the largest, most active, and earliest developed in his brain. They are extremely prone to produce evil until they are enlightened and directed by his moral and intellectual powers.

Man's ignorance of himself and of external nature, and his consequent inexperience of the attainments which he is capable of reaching, appear to have been the chief causes of his past errors; and the following among other reasons authorize us to hope for better things hereafter. His propensities, although strong, are felt by all to be the inferior powers in dignity and authority. There is, therefore, in man a natural longing for the realization of a more perfect social condition than any hitherto exhibited, in which justice and benevolence shall prevail. Plato's "republic" is the most ancient example of this desire of a perfect social state; and in the days of the apostles, an attempt to realize it, by possessing all things in common,

was made by the Christians. It is aimed at also, by the Society of Friends;—by the Harmonites of North America;—and by the followers of Mr. Owen in Britain: Plato's republic, and Sir Thomas More's Utopia, which was a similar scheme, were purely speculative, and have never been tried. The word "Utopian," indeed, is usually applied to all schemes too perfect and beautiful to admit of being reduced to practice. The primitive Christians did not form themselves into an association for the purpose of producing wealth: so far as we are aware, they merely contributed their actual possessions, and then gave themselves up to religious duties; and as their stores were soon consumed, the practice ceased. The Harmonites are stated to have been a colony of Moravians united under one or more religious leaders: In their own country they had from infancy been bred to certain religious opinions, in which they were generally agreed; they had all been trained to industry in its various branches, and disciplined in practical morality; and thus prepared, they emigrated with some little property, purchased a considerable territory in what was then the back settlements of the United States, and proceeded to realize the scheme of common property and christian brotherhood. They sustained many privations at first; but in time they built a commodious and handsome village, including a church, a school-house, a library, and baths. They cultivated the ground, and carried on various manufactures; but all labored for the common good, and were fed and clothed by the community. They implicitly obeyed their chief pastor or leader, Mr. Rapp, who exercised a mild though despotic authority over them. They lived as families in distinct dwellings, and enjoyed all the pleasures of the domestic affections; but their minds were not agitated by ambition, nor racked by anxiety

about providing for their children. The latter were early trained to industry, co-operation, and religion; and if their parents died, were at once adopted by the community. The Harmonites were not distracted with cares about their old age or sickness, because they were then abundantly provided for. There was division of labor, but no exhausting fatigue: A fertile soil, favorable climate, and moral habits, rendered moderate exertion amply sufficient to provide for every want. There were natural distinctions of rank; for all were subordinate to Mr. Rapp, and the individuals most highly gifted filled the most important offices, such as those of religious instructors, teachers, and directors of works, and were venerated and beloved by the other members accordingly; but no artificial distinctions found a place. This community existed many years, enjoyed great prosperity, and became rich. Mr. Owen at last appeared, bought their property, and proceeded to try his own scheme. They then retired farther into the wilderness, and recommenced their career. At that time they were about 2000 in number. Here then the vice and misery which prevail in common society were in a great measure excluded; and though the external circumstances of the Harmonites were peculiarly favorable, their history shews what human nature is capable of attaining.

The leading principle of Mr. Owen is, that human character is determined mainly by external circumstances; and that natural dispositions, and even established habits, may be easily overcome. Accordingly, he invited all and sundry who approved of his scheme, to settle at Harmony; but as those who acted on his invitation had been trained in the selfish system, and were, in many instances, mere ignorant adventurers, they naturally failed to act in

accordance with the dictates of the moral sentiments and intellect, and Mr. Owen's benevolent scheme proved completely unsuccessful. The establishment at Orbiston, in Lanarkshire, set on foot ten years ago, by the admirers of that gentleman, fell closely under my personal observation; and there, the same disregard of the principles of human nature, and the results of experience, was exhibited. About three hundred persons, very imperfectly educated, and united by no great moral or religious principle, excepting the vague idea of co-operation, were congregated in a large building; they were furnished with the use of two hundred and seventy acres of arable land, and commenced the co-operative mode of life. But their labor being guided by no efficient direction or superintendence, and there being no habitual supremacy of the moral and intellectual powers among them, animating each with a love of the public good, but the reverse,—the result was melancholy and speedy. Without in the least benefiting the operatives, the scheme ruined its philanthropic projectors, most of whom are now either in premature graves, or emigrants to distant lands, while every stone which they reared has been razed to the foundation.

These details are not foreign to the subject in hand. They prove, that while ignorance prevails, and the selfish faculties bear the ascendency, the system of individual interests is the only one for which men are fitted. At the same time, the attempts above narrated shew that there is in the human mind an ardent aspiration after a higher, purer, and happier state of society than has ever yet been realized. In the words of Mr. Forsyth, there is in some men "a passion for reforming the world;" and the success of Mr. Rapp, at Harmony, shews that whenever animal propensities can be controlled by the strength of moral and re-

ligious principle, co-operation for the general welfare, and a vast increase of happiness, become possible. As individuals, however, are liable to be led away on this subject, by sanguine dispositions and poetical fancies, our first object should be to judge calmly whether past experience does not outweigh, in the scale of reason, these bright desires and this solitary example, and teach us to regard them as dangerous phantoms, rather than indications of capabilities lying dormant within us. Certainly the argument founded on experience is a very strong one; yet it does not seem to me to be conclusive—and as the question of the capabilities of human nature is one of great and preliminary importance, a statement will be given in the next lecture of the reasons which render it probable that man is still susceptible of improvement to an unascertained extent. Our opinions on this point must necessarily exercise a great influence on our ideas of social duty; and the subject is, therefore, deserving of the fullest consideration.

LECTURE XI.

THE CONSIDERATION OF THE PROSPECTIVE CONDITION OF SOCIETY CONTINUED.

I proceed to state some of the reasons which render it probable that the capacity of man for improvement is greater than experience may, at first sight, lead us to suppose.

In the first place, man is obviously progressive in the evolution of his mental powers. The development of his brain appears to improve with time, exercise, and the amelioration of his institutions. It is ascertained, that in civilized nations in general, the moral and intellectual organs are larger, in proportion to the organs of the animal propensities, than they are in savages. The skulls of civilized and savage races, in the collection of the Phrenological Society, afford proofs of this fact.* It is equally certain, that individuals are fitted to institute, maintain, and enjoy, a highly moral and intellectual social condition, in proportion to the predominance of the organs of the su-

*Since the text was written, I have visited the United States of America, and seen large numbers of skulls of native Indians, and also living individuals of these races, and have found the statement in the text amply supported by this evidence. See the most authentic descriptions of these skulls in Dr. Morton's *Crania Americana*.

perior sentiments and the intellectual powers, in their brains. Many persons enjoying this combination may be found in all christian countries. They are genuine philanthropists,—good, pious, wise, long-suffering, and charitable. They see and lament the ignorance, selfishness, blindness and degradation of the unenlightened masses of mankind, and would rejoice in institutions that would introduce peace and good will to men on earth, and the love of God into every mind. If the brains of a great majority of mankind could be brought up to that standard, and illuminated by knowledge, christianity might be realized as a practical doctrine, which it has never yet generally been. The love of every thing good, holy, exalted, and refined, would be strong and general; and it seems reasonable to believe that the human intellect might succeed in discovering means of gratifying the aspirations of the moral faculties in social habits, pursuits, and institutions. If, then, men possessing such brains exist, human nature must be capable of reaching this condition. As we are all of the same race, and regulated by the same laws, the excellent qualities exhibited by a few, cannot be denied to be within the ultimate attainment of the majority.

Farther—As the firmest believers in man's capability of improvement are those persons who themselves possess high moral development of brain, they are inspired, in this faith, not by a demon, but by heaven; for the moral sentiments are the God-like elements of our nature; and the very fact that these ennobling expectations are entertained by men possessing the best moral affections, affords an indication that Providence intends that they should be realized. In proportion, then, as a large development of the organs of the higher faculties becomes general, the conviction of

the possibility of improvement, and the desire for it, will increase.*

Again—Man, as already mentioned, is clearly and undeniably progressive in knowledge; and this sole circumstance authorizes us to rely with confidence on his future improvement. In proportion as he shall evolve a correct knowledge of the elements of external nature, and of his own constitution, out of the dark chaos in which they have hitherto existed, will his means of acting wisely, and advantageously for his own happiness, be augmented. If we trace in history the periods of the direst sufferings of human nature, we shall find them uniformly to have been those of the most benighted ignorance, and phrenology confirms the records of history on this subject;—it shews us that the animal organs are the largest and most active, and that, in uncultivated men, they act blindly and with terrible energy, producing misery in every form. If the progress of knowledge be destined to increase virtue and enjoyment, our brightest days must yet be in reserve, because knowledge is only at this moment dawning even on civilized nations.—It has been well observed, that we who now live are only emerging out of the ignorance and barbarism of the dark ages: we have not yet fully escaped. This is proved by the mass of uneducated persons

* The failure of the disciples of Mr. Owen may be supposed to be a refutation of this remark; but they followed the aspirations of their moral sentiments, without consulting the dictates of enlightened intellect. They believed that the good which they strongly desired could be at once realized, by measures suggested by the mere force of the desire, without fulfilling the preliminary natural conditions to success. They took the most selfish and most ignorant of the people, and expected that by a few speeches and by living in a community, they would alter their nature, and render them in the highest degree disinterested and moral. This was irrational, and failure was the natural result; but this does not shew that wiser means may not lead to happier ends.

every where existing; by the imperfect nature of the instruction usually given; and by the vast multitude of prejudices which still prevail, even in the best informed classes of society. It is, in truth, an error to believe that even modern Europe is enlightened, in any reasonable meaning of the term. A few of her ablest men are comparatively well instructed, when tried by the standards of other ages; but the wisest of them have the most forcible conviction that the field of their knowledge of nature, physical and mental, when compared with the vast regions of territory still unexplored, is as a span to the whole terrestrial globe: and as to the multitude of mankind, their ignorance is like the loftiest mountain in size, and their knowledge as the most diminutive mole-hill. The great body of the people are uninstructed in every thing deserving of the name of practical science. Neither our scheme of life, the internal arrangement of our houses, the plans of our towns, our modes of industry nor our habits of living, our amusements,—our other ways of employing the small portion of leisure left to us by the calls of business, nor even the details and forms of our religious worship, have been instituted and adopted from any sound and systematic view of our own nature, or its wants and capabilities. The art of printing, and the era of discovery in the arts and sciences, are all still comparatively recent; and the *practical application* of them to the increase of the intelligence and happiness of the great mass of the people, with a view to realize christian morality and its attendant enjoyments in this life, has yet been limited and imperfect.

Farther—The external world is clearly constituted with the intention that man should exert his highest faculties, illuminated by knowledge, and that his happiness should be thereby increased. Civilized man,

with his numerous inventions, and his admirable command over physical and animal nature, appears almost like a God, compared with the savages of New Holland, and other helpless tribes wearing the human form, without manifesting the human mind. When we survey the great ingenuity and value of our mechanical inventions, and consider to what extent they have increased our powers of producing the necessaries and elegancies of life, it is impossible to doubt that the Creator, when he bestowed on us faculties which he foresaw would one day render us masters, to so great an extent, of his physical creation, intended that they should ultimately increase the happiness of *all* his children: He never could have designed them to be employed merely in carrying on a vast game of hazard, in which a thousand should be losers, and one only, the fortunate gainer of the prize; and yet, at this moment, when we regard, on the one hand, the condition of our operative manufacturing population, too generally pressed to the earth with poverty and toil, and on the other, a few men of superior talent, who, by combining their exertions, and accumulating the profits of their labor, have become almost princes in fortune, we cannot deny that this is really the use to which discoveries in arts and science have been too generally devoted. This, I say, cannot be the ultimate design of Providence; and therefore I conclude, again, that we must be as yet only evolving our destinies; that we are now in a state of transition, and advancing to higher morality and more universal enjoyment.

Another reason for my conviction of human capability of improvement is, that imperfect as our philosophical acquaintance with ourselves and with external nature at present is, we are able to trace almost all our sufferings to causes which are removeable by knowledge and by the practice of moral duty. The

evils of sickness and premature death may, in general, and with the exception of accidents, be traced to feeble constitutions inherited from parents, or to direct disobedience of the organic laws in our own persons. If knowledge of the causes of health and disease were generally diffused, and if the sanctions of religion and the opinion of society were directed towards enforcing attention to them, it is reasonable to believe that in every succeeding generation, fewer and fewer parents would produce children with feeble constitutions, and fewer and fewer adults would cause their own deaths prematurely, by ignorant infringement of these laws.

Poverty, and the consequent want of the necessaries and enjoyments of life, is another vast source of human suffering. But who that traces the immeasurable fruitfulness of the earth, and the unbounded productiveness of human labor and skill, can doubt that if a higher minded and more considerate population could be reared, who should act according to the dictates of an enlightened understanding and a sound practical morality, and establish wiser social arrangements,—this source of suffering would also be dried up, or very greatly diminished?

Vicissitude and uncertainty of condition also afflict thousands, who are placed above the reach of actual want of food and raiment; yet how much of these evils may be traced to the dark mysteriousness in which many involve their trade; in consequence of which, each manufacturer is often in secret ruining both himself and his neighbor, by over-production, without any of them being aware that he is the source of his own and his neighbor's calamities; and how much evil may be ascribed to the grasping and gambling spirit, which prompts so many persons to engage in wild speculations, which a sound education in political economy might prevent. Ills like these are certainly

to some extent avoidable, by knowledge of the principles which govern commerce, and by the practice of prudence and morality by individuals.

The last reason which I assign for believing in the capacity of man for improvement, is, that he can scarcely move one step of advance in knowledge and morality, without a palpable amelioration of his condition. If you will trace our countrymen through their various grades, of savages, barbarians, chivalrous professors of love, war, and plunder, and of civilized citizens of the world, you will find the aggregate enjoyment of the people increased with every extension of knowledge and virtue. This is so obvious and certain, that I forbear to waste your time by proving it in detail; and we cannot reasonably suppose that the progress is destined to stop here.

For all the reasons now assigned, I hope you will go along with me in the conviction, that improvement, not boundless, but so extensive that its limits are unknown, is within the reach of man. I shall now endeavor to point out the means by which this improvement may be carried into effect.

The first step towards realizing this object, is to produce a general conviction of its possibility, which I have endeavored in this and the preceding lectures to accomplish. The next is to communicate to each individual a clear perception of the advantages which would accrue to *himself* from such improvement, and a firm conviction of the impossibility of individuals in general ever attaining to the full enjoyment and satisfaction of their highest and best faculties, except by means of social institutions founded on the basis of the moral and intellectual faculties.

In order to support this last proposition, I solicit your attention, for a brief space, to our helpless condi-

tion as individuals. In social and civilized life, not one of us could subsist in comfort for a day, without the aid and society of our fellow men.* This position will not be generally disputed; but the idea is almost universal, that if we only acquire property enough, we may command, by means of money, every object, and every service, that our utmost fancies can desire. This, however, is a grave error. Has any of you ever been travelling, and lost, or broken, some ingenious and useful article which you were constantly using, purchased in London or Edinburgh, and have you come to a considerable village in the country, where you felt certain that you would be able to supply your want by a new purchase? and have you found that you searched in vain? The general inhabitants of the district had not yet adopted the use of that article; the shops only contained the things which they demanded, and you speedily discovered, that however rich your purse might be in sovereigns, you could not advance beyond the sphere of enjoyment of the humbler people, into whose territory you had come? Or, during a residence in the country, do you take a longing for some particular book,—not a rare or old work, but one on an important, and generally cultivated science, say Lyell's Geology, or Murray's Chemistry, and repair to the circulating library of the county town? You search the catalogue for it in vain! You go next, to the best bookseller's shop, but it is not there either. The bookseller looks in his London or Edinburgh publisher's catalogue, and finds the

* Alexander Selkirk subsisted in solitude for four years, on the uninhabited Island of Juan Fernandez, in comfort, and even with enjoyment, after he had become accustomed to his situation; but he had a fine climate, and a fertile soil, with unbounded range for action; and a human being left without aid in a civilized community, would be far more helpless and miserable.

name and price at once, and offers to get it for you by the next monthly parcel; but in the meantime you receive a convincing proof that you cannot, without drawing on the stores of a more scientific population, advance even intellectually, before the general inhabitants of the county in which you are located; because the means of doing so do not exist around you. If you proceed to survey the catalogue of the country circulating library, you will find that it contains chiefly the standard novels, with the current magazines, and such voyages and travels as have acquired a great popularity. With these, you must rest contented, or draw your supplies from a district more advanced in intellectual culture.

Now the principle which is here illustrated, holds good universally in social life.

If you are a parent, and see the imperfections of the prevailing system of education, you cannot improve your condition until a teacher and a large number of parents shall have concurred in the same views, and combined in the institution of an improved seminary. Many applications have been made to me, for information where seminaries for rational education, particularly for females, were to be found; but until very recently, I could not tell; because none such, to my knowledge, existed. We have now several of these institutions in Edinburgh. Among others, the Infant School of Mr. and Miss Anderson, in Gayfield Square. Until these were instituted, individual parents were compelled, by social necessity, to place their children in schools of which they did not approve, because they could find no better. Nay, enlightened teachers have told me that their schools are arrested in their progress, and retained in arrear of their own knowledge and convictions of improvement, in consequence of the prejudices of parents rendering it unsafe for them to

adopt new methods. The improved schools, so far as they exist, have been created only by the enlightenment of parents, by the aid of the press, and general instruction.

Is any of us convinced that human life is rendered unnecessarily laborious by our present habits of competition, and does he desire to limit his hours of labor, and long ardently to enjoy more ample opportunity for exercising his moral and intellectual faculties, he soon discovers that while his neighbors in general shall continue to seek their chief happiness in the pursuit of wealth, or the gratification of ambition, he can accomplish little towards realizing his moral desires. He must keep his shop open as long as they do; he must labor in his manufactory up to their full standard of time; or if he be a member of a profession, he must devote as many hours to business as they; otherwise, he will be distanced in the race, and lose both his means of subsistence, and his station in society. So true is this representation, that in my own day, many of the men who, without fortune, have embarked in public life, that is, who have taken the lead in public affairs, and devoted a large portion of their time to the business of the community, have ruined themselves and their families. Their competitors in trade, manufactures, or professional pursuits, were dedicating their whole energies to their private duties, while *they* were *dividing* their attention between them and the public service; and they were, in consequence, ruined in their individual fortunes, and sunk into obscurity and want. Yet it is certain, that the business of the state, or of our particutar town, or city, ought to receive a due portion of attention from every inhabitant.

This absolute dependence of individuals on the state of the social circle in which they live, extends through

all the ramifications of existence. Does any individual entertain higher notions of moral and religious duty, than are current in his own rank and age?—he will find, when he attempts to carry them into practice, that he becomes an object of remark to all, and of dislike and hostility to many. Does any individual perceive the great evils to health and comfort, in narrow lanes, small sleeping apartments, and ill ventilated rooms, and churches, and desire to have them removed?—he can accomplish absolutely nothing, until he has convinced a vast multitude of his fellow citizens of the reasonableness and advantage of his projected improvements, and induced them to co-operate in carrying them into effect. Does any of us desire to enjoy more rational public amusements than those at present at our command?—he cannot succeed, unless by operating on the understandings and tastes of thousands. Perhaps the highest social pleasure of life is that of familiar converse with moral and intelligent friends; but do we not all feel that by the general absence of a cultivated taste and enlightened understanding, our social parties are cumbrous and formal displays of wealth and luxury, and much more occasions of ostentation than of pleasing mental entertainment? It is only by a higher general cultivation of the mind, that this evil can be brought to an end. It is the want of mental resources, that occasions this dull display. But perhaps the strongest proof of the close connection between the public welfare and private interest, is afforded by the effects of any great political or commercial convulsion. In 1825-6, we saw extensive failures among bankers, merchants, and manufacturers, and how universal was the individual suffering through all classes! Laborers could find no employment, and the shop-keepers who supplied them had few customers, and these unable to pay. The

great manufacturers who supplied these classes with clothing, and articles for domestic use, were idle; the house proprietor suffered for want of tenants, and the landed proprietor found a dull and disadvantageous market for his produce. Contrast this picture with the condition of the country in which the great branches of manufacturing industry are prosperous, and how different the happiness of individuals! Thus it appears clear, that even under the present system of the pursuit of individual interest, the real welfare of each individual is much more closely connected with that of his neighbors, than is generally recognized. This proves that the fundamental element of individual advantage, is public prosperity.

According to my humble conviction, therefore, the very first lesson relative to our social duties, which ought to be given to the young, is to open their understandings to this great fact in the moral administration of the world, that the law of christianity which commands us to love our neighbors as ourselves, is actually written in our constitution, individual and social, and is a maxim which must become practical, before we can become truly prosperous and happy as individuals.

The precept has been generally interpreted to mean that we should do specific acts of kindness to the individual men who live locally in our neighborhood, or who are connected with us by ties of intimacy or kindred; and the parable of the good Samaritan, naturally tends to excite this idea; but, although this is unquestionably one, and a very important, application of it, the principle of the precept goes much farther. It enjoins us to arrange our social institutions, and our whole practical conduct, in such a manner as to render us all simultaneously, and as nearly as may be, equally happy; and it appears to me that our nature has been constituted so as to ad-

mit of this being done, with unspeakable advantage to all, whenever we shall thoroughly understand our constitution, its moral wants, and its capabilities. At present this principle is scarcely at all understood, and is certainly not generally acted on. A few years ago we used to hear the maxim often repeated, that private persons had nothing to do with public affairs; that their business was to mind their shops, their manufactories, their professions, and their families, and to leave public matters to public men. The evil consequences of the world having followed this rule in past ages, may be read in the wide aberrations of many of our laws, and institutions, and of our general social condition, from the standards of reason and general utility. If you will peruse the pages of history, you will find wars often undertaken from the caprices of a single sovereign, which spread devastation and misery among millions of people. These could not have happened, if the millions of private persons on whom the calamities fell, had considered the public interest inseparably connected with their own, and had exercised an enlightened control over the actions of their rulers. Another instance is found in the history of the slave trade. It proceeded from individual rapacity, and constituted the foulest blot that ever stained the fame of Britain. It enriched a few individuals at the expense of every principle of humanity, and in defiance of every christian precept. At no period was it approved of by the general voice of the people; but each was too busy with his private affairs to be able to make a simultaneous and general effort to arrest its pernicious course. At last, growing intelligence, and increasing morality, in the great body of the people, did produce this co-operation, and, after ages of crime and misery, it was extinguished, by the nation paying £20,000,000 for the freedom of the

slaves. If the British people had been able earlier to insist on the cessation of this odious traffic, how much of human misery, besides the loss of these £20,000,000, would have been avoided! If we trace narrowly, the great causes why our rulers have been permitted to waste the public resources, and incur the national debt, which is now felt to form such a vast impediment to public improvement, we shall find that too often the individuals of the nation were calculating the private gain which they could severally make by hostilities, in creating a demand for farm produce, for the maintenance of fleets and armies; for cloth for their uniforms; or for iron for their arms, and so on;—utterly blind to the palpable fact that the war was destroying the national resources, and that they themselves would, in the end, pay for all. Unfortunately the maxim that each of us should mind his private affairs, make gain of the public if he can, and leave public matters to public men, still reigns in too much vigor. The number of individuals is yet small, who take an enlightened interest in the social welfare: so much is this perceptible even in listening to mere discourses upon it, that I have seen my audience diminish in proportion as the lectures have left the interests of individuals and proceeded to those of the public. This indicates a limited capacity for thought. One of the most certain marks of a truly enlightened mind, is the power of comprehending the dependence of our individual welfare on public prosperity. I do not mean, of course, that each of us should become a political reformer, or a conservative, or a brawler about town politics, and about police regulations, as our chief business, to the neglect of our private duties. This would be preposterous, and would augment, and not diminish, the evils of our social condition. What I wish to enforce is, the general conviction that our in-

dividual enjoyments, viewed in an enlarged light, are inseparably bound up with those of the society, in which we move; and that it is, therefore, both our interest and our duty, to study attentively, the nature, objects, and practical results, of our social mechanism; to compare them with our faculties; and then to devote all the time and attention that may be necessary to bring our institutions and habits of life into accordance with our higher powers.

The advantages of acting on these enlarged views, would be numerous and important. We should learn to regard public measures in their real relationship to general utility, and not through the distorting medium of our private interests and partialities. We should discover the incalculable power which society possesses to improve its own condition and institutions, whenever unanimity is attained; and we should feel much more disposed than at present, to promote, with our moral influence, the ascendency of all such measures as are truly calculated to lead to public good, although benefiting ourselves only in our social capacity. Another effect of enlightened views of our social welfare being generally entertained, would be, that men of far higher moral and intellectual character would become candidates for offices of public trust and honor, because they would be certain of support from a moral and intelligent public. At present, the busy men in all the minor departments of political and public life, are too often those who are actuated by a restless vanity, or who look to attain some selfish end through their public influence and connections. From the general disbelief in disinterested motives, public men are at present frequently rewarded with obloquy and abuse, however zealously and uprightly they may discharge their official duties; and this deters men of delicacy, and of sensitive modesty, from accepting of

official trusts. There are, fortunately, many exceptions, but I fear that there are, also, too many examples of this being the truth. The truly enlightened and disinterested, shrink from the means which selfishly ambitious men employ, not only to obtain, but to wield and preserve power; and hence, the field is left too entirely to them. The remedy for these evils is to educate the public at large into a perception of the real nature and importance of their social interests and duties.

If I be correct in the opinion that the happiness of each individual is inseparably connected with that of the society in which he lives, and that the law that we must love our neighbor as ourselves, really means, in its extensive sense, that general enjoyment can arise only from improved social habits and institutions,—then I shall not be thought to be guilty of extravagance, when I remark, that in times past this view has rarely, to any practical end, been pressed on the attention of any class of society. Within the last fifty or sixty years, political economy has been discussed on philosophical principles; but the leading aim of the economists has been to demonstrate the most effectual means of increasing wealth. The very title of the first valuable work on the subject in this country, is "the *Wealth* of Nations," by Dr. Adam Smith. The principles which he expounded, it is true, embrace establishments for promoting religion and education, and other moral institutions; and no one can value his labors, and those of his successors, such as Ricardo, McCulloch, and their followers, more highly than I do; yet it is unquestionable that the great aim of all these writers has been to clear away the rubbish that impeded the play of our selfish faculties, and to teach the advantage of all laws and institutions that will permit every man's mind to fol-

low its own bent, in search of its own happiness in its own way, restrained only by the obligation that he shall not *directly* injure or obstruct the prosperity of his neighbor. In the infancy of civilization and social institutions, this instruction was most valuable; as was also the exposition of the natural laws by which the creation and diffusion of wealth are regulated; so that these writers are worthy of all consideration as having been useful in their day. But society must *proceed* in its course. It has augmented its wealth, while many persons doubt whether the increase of its happiness has, in all ranks, kept pace with that of its riches. What seems now to be wanted is, the knowledge and adoption of principles allied to our moral, religious and intellectual faculties, which may enable us really to profit by the labors of political economists and of our skilful artisans. The extent of the people's power to improve their social condition is very great, if they could only be so far enlightened regarding the constituent elements of their own happiness, as to pursue it in a right direction, and in combination. The gigantic efforts of Britain in war, afford an example of the prodigious effects, in the form of violence, which we are capable of producing by our combined wealth and mental energies. If our forefathers had dedicated to executing physical improvements and to instructing the people, the same ardor of mind, and the same extent of treasure, which they squandered from the year 1700 to 1815 in war, what a different result would at this day have presented itself! If they had bestowed honors on the benefactors of the human race as they have done on its destroyers, how different would have been the direction of ambition!

The next requisite for improving our social condition, is the command of time for the discharge of our social duties. One day in the week is set apart for

teaching and practising our religious duties; but in that day, very little instruction is communicated by our public and authorized teachers, touching the affairs of this world, and the laws by which the happiness of our social state may be best promoted. The other six days of the week are devoted to the advancement of our individual interests in the pursuit of wealth, or, as the scripture designates it, to the collection of "the meat which perisheth." In the existing arrangements of society, our social duties do not appear to be at all recognized as incumbent on us. There are no seminaries for making us acquainted with them, and no time allotted for the practice of them. Those who discharge public duties, must either sacrifice the time to them which their competitors are devoting to their private interests, or overtask their minds and bodies by laboring when nature demands repose. Now, with all deference to existing opinions, I would humbly propose that a specific portion of time should be set apart for teaching in public assemblies, and discharging practically our social duties, and that all private business should then be suspended. If half a day in the week were devoted to this purpose, some of the following consequences might be expected to ensue—first, that the immense importance of social institutions and habits to individual happiness, would be brought home to all. It would be half a day dedicated to the consideration of the means by which we might practically love our neighbors as ourselves: A public recognition of the principle, as one capable of being carried into practice, would, in itself, bend many minds towards realizing it.

Secondly—It would enable, and also excite, the people at large to turn their attention seriously to moral and social considerations, on which their real

interests so much depend; instead of considering it meritorious and advantageous to neglect them; and it would tend to remove that dense mass of ignorance and prejudice which offers a powerful obstacle to all improvement. If I be correct in thinking that individual men cannot realize the christian precepts in their actions, while living in a society whose ruling motives are different and opposed to them, it is obvious that the rectification of our social habits is an *indispensable* prelude to the introduction of practical christianity; and how *can* these be rectified unless by instructing the people in the means of improving them? Thus the religious community are deeply interested in promoting the plan of education now proposed.

Thirdly—The dedication of a specific portion of time to our social duties, would leave leisure for truly virtuous and enlightened men to transact public business, without exposing themselves to be ruined by their competitors in the race of private interest. In the present system, the selfish are enriching themselves while the patriotic are impoverishing their families by discharging their public duties. In short, either this or some other adequate means must be used, to communicate to men in general a correct and elevated view of their own nature, position, interests, and duties, as rational beings, with a view to induce them to improve their social habits, and also, to afford facilities for the discharge of their public duties, before any substantial progress can be made in social improvement; and without social improvement, individual morality and happiness never can be securely or permanently maintained. In the "Constitution of Man," I have endeavored to shew that the real object of the Creator in bestowing on man the power of abridging labor by mechanical inventions, appears to be to give him leisure for cultiva-

ting his moral and intellectual powers; and if this idea be right, there is no natural obstacle to the dedication of sufficient time to the purposes in question.

Perhaps the notion will present itself to many persons, that if the industrious classes were congregated to receive instruction in this manner, the result would be the formation of countless clubs and debating societies, in which vivacious but ignorant men would lead their weaker brethren into mischievous errors, and imbue them with discontent. This would probably happen, if a sudden adoption of the plan took place, without previous preparation. At present, there is so great an ignorance of useful and sound social principles, that such unions would probably be abused; but a young and rising generation may be prepared, by instruction and education, for comprehending and performing their social duties, and then leisure for their practice will lead only to good.

So little attention has been paid to instructing the people at large in their social duties, that I am not acquainted with a single treatise on the subject, calculated for popular use, except the 38th No. of "Chambers' Information for the People," which contains an excellent exposition of a variety of our public duties; but it is necessarily limited, in comparison with the vast extent of the subject. Nay, not only has no instruction on social duties been provided for the people, but the opinion has been very generally entertained, that they have no such duties to discharge, except to pay taxes, and bear arms when balloted to serve in the militia; and that they go entirely out of their sphere, when they turn their attention to public affairs. This appears to me to be a preposterous and fundamental error; for the industrious classes, of all grades, are, if possible, more directly and strikingly affected by the good or bad management of public

matters, or by our social condition, than the rich, in whose hands alone it has been imagined that the discharge of social duties should be placed. The operative tradesman and small shop-keeper absolutely rises or falls, with every wave of public prosperity or adversity; whereas, the landed proprietor and the great capitalist are able to weather many a social storm, with scarcely a perceptible abridgement of their enjoyment.

After the people at large are enlightened, and thoroughly imbued with the love of justice and of their neighbors' happiness, our second social duty is, to carry into practice, by all moral means, the grand principle of equalizing, as much as possible, the enjoyment of all—not by pulling down the fortunate and accomplished, but by elevating others, as nearly as may be, to an equality with them: all privileges and artificial ranks, which obstruct the general welfare, ought to be abolished; not violently, however, but gradually, and by inducing their possessors to give them up, as injurious to the public and themselves.

The next social duty which I mention, relates to the maintenance of the poor. Much diversity of opinion prevails on the causes of poverty, the remedies of it, and the best means of managing the poor. Many political economists, founding on the recorded experience of mankind, have taught that there ought to be no legal provision for the poor, because the existence of a legal provision operates as a direct stimulus to poverty; it induces the indolent and vicious to relax their own efforts to earn the means of subsistence, and to throw themselves unblushingly, and as a matter of right, on the public bounty. Other economists, especially in more recent days, have taught the very opposite doctrine, and given Ireland as an instance of unexampled poverty and misery, arising in consequence of there being in that country no legal provis-

ion for the poor; and it is now proposed to enact poor laws for Ireland. This proposal is based on the ground, that if the rich be not compelled to support the poor, they will entirely abandon the whole class from which the poor arise, and allow them to sink into the lowest depths of ignorance, misery, and degradation; whereas, if they were forced to maintain all the victims of these unhappy circumstances, they would be prompted by their own interest, to use means for their social improvement, so as to prevent them from becoming an intolerable burden on themselves. Again, some political economists, of whom Dr. Chalmers is the chief, regard all compulsory assessments for the poor, as injurious to society, and maintain that private benevolence, if fairly left to itself, is quite adequate to the discharge of the duty of providing for them. Other men, equally wise and experienced in the world, are altogether disbelievers in this alleged power of the principle of benevolence, and argue, that the only effect of relying on it, would be to permit the avaricious to escape from all contribution, and to throw the burden of the poor entirely on the benevolent, who, in general, are overwhelmed with demands on their bounty.

Scientific knowledge of human nature, and of the influence of external circumstances on happiness, cannot be general, when such widely different doctrines, regarding a question of momentous import, are supported by men of equal profundity and respectability.

The view of it which is presented by the new philosophy, is the following.

The causes of that degree of poverty which amounts to destitution, are great defects in the body, or in the mind of the individuals who fall into this condition, or in both. The lame, the deaf, and the blind, may be poor through bodily defects; and if so, they are the victims

lations of the organic laws, and should be comfortably maintained by the more fortunate members of society. Their numbers are not great, in proportion to well constituted men, and their maintenance would not be felt as a severe tax, if they were the only burdens on the benevolence of the community. The idiotic in mind belong to the same class. All that society can accomplish in regard to these classes of society is, to support comfortably those who exist, and to use means to render their numbers as small as possible in future generations. This can be accomplished best, by instructing the community at large in the organic laws, and presenting every possible motive to them to obey them.

The most numerous class of destitute poor is that which springs from deficiency of size or quality in the brain, or in the intellectual region of it, not amounting to idiocy, but occasioning so much mental weakness that the individuals are not capable of maintaining their own place in the grand struggle of social existence. Persons so constituted often provide for their own wants, although with difficulty, during the vigorous period of their lives, and become helpless and a burden on the community in the wane of life. That the cause of their falling into destitution, is essentially an imperfection in their mental organs, any one may ascertain, by qualifying himself to distinguish well constituted from ill constituted brains, and then going into any of the charity work-houses or asylums for adults, and observing the temperaments and heads of their inmates. It is obvious, that teaching the organic laws, and improving the external circumstances of society, are the most feasible means for lessening the numbers of these unfortunate victims in future times. Another proof that these physiological defects

lie at the root of the evil of poverty, may be obtained by observing the temperament, and size and forms of the heads of the children of the higher and middle classes, and comparing them with those of the children of the poor, found in the parish charity workhouses. The latter children, with individual exceptions, spring from parents who are the refuse or dregs of the community, and by whose feebleness and vices they become burdens on the parish. These children are palpably inferior in temperament, and in size and form of brain, to the offspring of parents of the middle and higher ranks; and teachers who have been employed in schools consisting of children of these superior grades, and who have afterwards been placed in charge of the children in public charities, have remarked an extraordinary difference of native capacity between the two, the children of the pauper asylum being much less apt to learn.

Now, these facts, although, as I have said, they go to the root of the evil, are generally unknown and unattended to. An accomplished manager of the poor of a parish, according to the present system, is a man who resists, to the very last extremity, every application for charity, and who, when resistance is no longer possible, obtains the greatest quantity of food and raiment for the smallest amount of money. Economy in contracts is the grand object; and those managers are covered with glory, who are able to reduce the assessment on the parish one half per cent. Without meaning at all to depreciate the advantages of economy, I remark that this mode of management reminds me of the manner in which an old relative of my own coped with the rushes which grew too abundantly in one field of his farm. He employed women whom he hired at so many pence a day, to pull them up; and

if the wages of the women fell from 10*d* to 6*d* or 8*d* a day, he thought he had managed the rushes to great advantage that year. But it so happened, that the rushes, like the poor, constantly reappeared, and the labor of pulling them up, never came to an end. At last, this excellent person died, and his son succeeded to the farm. This son had received a scientific education, and had heard the chemical qualities of soil, and of the various metals and minerals which are usually found incorporated with it, explained by one professor; and by another professor he had been taught the effect of these on vegetation. He thus discovered that stagnant water is the parent of rushes; and when he succeeded to the farm, he cut a deep drain through a high bank, obtained declivity to cause the water to flow from the field; and then constructed drains through it, in every direction. By this means he dried the soil; the rushes disappeared, and have never since been seen there. The annual labor of pulling them up is saved; and the expense of it is devoted to farther improvements.

So long as society shall neglect the causes of poverty, and omit to remove them, and so long as they shall confine their main efforts to making cheap contracts for supporting the poor, so long will they have a constant succession of poor to maintain. Nay, there is a great tendency in their proceedings to foster the growth of the very poverty which so grievously distresses them. I have said that the children in the charity workhouses, have generally low temperaments and inferior brains. Now, these qualities are the great parents of poverty. To prevent these children, therefore, from becoming paupers, when they shall fall into the decline of life, and from rearing an inferior race, bordering, also, on pauperism, it would be necessary to

improve by every possible means, their defective organization. This can be done only by supplying them with nutritious diet, and paying the utmost attention to their physical and mental training. By the present system, they are fed on the lowest fare, and their training is very imperfectly conducted. They look dull, inert, heavy, and lymphatic; and are not fortified so much as they might be, against the imperfections of their natural constitutions. In feeding pauper children with the most moderate quantity of the coarsest and cheapest food, means are actually taken to perpetuate the evil; for bad feeding in childhood weakens the body and mind, and, consequently, diminishes the power of the individuals to provide for themselves. Attention, therefore, ought to be devoted, not merely to the support of existing paupers, but also to the means of preventing another mass from springing up in the next generation. Our present system may be compared to that which the farmer would have pursued, if he had watered the field after pulling up the rushes, in order to assist nature in accomplishing a new growth.

In making these observations, I beg to be understood as not blaming any particular managers of the poor for their proceedings, or accusing them of neglect of duty. The principles which I am now expounding, have hitherto been unknown to these persons, and are not yet generally acknowledged by society at large. Public men, therefore, could not act on them. But believing them to be founded in nature, and to be highly important, I use the freedom to announce them for general consideration, in the confidence, that if they be supported by facts, they will, in time, become practical; and if they shall be shewn not to be true, I shall rejoice in their fallacy being discovered. One

fact, at all events, cannot be controverted, viz. that society has not yet discovered either the causes or the remedy for poverty; and, therefore, the statement of new principles is neither arrogant nor unnecessary; leaving them, as I do, to stand or fall by the result of observation and experience.

LECTURE XII.

OF THE CAUSES OF PAUPERISM AND THE SUBJECT OF CRIMINAL LEGISLATION.

In the immediately preceding lecture, I entered upon the consideration of the social duty of providing for the poor. The removal of the *causes* of pauperism, it was observed, ought to be attended to, as well as the *alleviation of the misery* attending it. One great cause of pauperism is bodily and mental defect; and it was held that those so afflicted should be maintained by society.

Another cause of pauperism is, the habit of indulging in the use of intoxicating liquors. This practice undermines the health of the whole nervous system, through which it operates most injuriously on the mind. The organs of the animal propensities are the largest in the brain, and the influence of intoxicating liquors is the following. They increase the action of the heart, and cause an increased flow of blood to the head. The blood circulates most freely in the largest organs, for they have the largest blood vessels. It stimulates *them* to unwonted activity, while by overcharging the vessels, it oppresses the smaller organs of the moral sentiments, and intellectual faculties. It thus produces a temporary suspension of the functions of the latter powers, and the human being, in a state of inebriety, resembles an intoxicated inferior animal;

his reason is suspended, while his animal powers are stimulated to unwonted activity. The intoxicating fluid also stimulates the nervous system directly, by its influence on the nervous coat of the stomach, and excites the whole organs of sensation, for the time, into more vivid action. Hence the drunkard enjoys a momentary happiness; but when the stimulus is withdrawn, the tone of the system sinks as far below the healthy state, as during intoxication it had been raised above it. He then feels a painful prostration of strength and vivacity, a sensation of deprivation, and a strong craving for a renewed supply of alcohol to recruit his exhausted vigor. During intoxication, the moral and intellectual faculties, owing to the congestion in these organs, are incapable of making any useful effort, while in the intervals between different debauches, the brain is so exhausted and enfeebled, that it is equally unfit to execute any vigorous purpose. The habitual drunkard thus sinks into the condition of a complete imbecile, and may become a burden on the industrious portion of the community for his maintenance.

The causes of individuals falling into these habits are various. One is a hereditary predisposition. If the parents, or one of them, have been habitually addicted to the same vice, its consequences affect their physical constitution, and they transmit a weakened organization to their children. This doctrine has been ridiculed, as if we taught that children are born drunk. They are no more born drunk than they are born in a passion; but they certainly are born with conditions of brain that tend ultimately to produce in them a love for intoxicating fluids.

Another cause of the tendency to drunkenness appears to be excessive labor with low diet. The nervous energy is exhausted through the medium of

the muscles, and the stimulus of alcohol is felt to be extremely grateful, in restoring sensations of life, vigor and enjoyment. This cause may be removed by moderating the extent of labor, and improving the quality of the food. If alcohol were withheld, and a nourishing diet supplied to such men, they would, after a few weeks, be surprised at the pleasurable feelings which they would experience from this better means of supplying the waste of their systems.

An additional cause of intoxication is found in ignorance. When an individual enjoys high health and a tolerably well developed brain, he feels a craving for enjoyment; a desire to be happy, and to be surrounded by happy friends. If he be uneducated and ignorant, his faculties want objects on which they may expand themselves, and he discovers that intoxicating liquors will excite all his faculties into action, and give him a vivid experience, for the time, of the pleasures of which he is in quest. The bottle, for the sake of this artificial stimulus, is then resorted to, instead of the objects in nature related to the faculties, the study of which was intended by the Creator as the natural excitement of the mind, calculated at once to render us happy, and to do us good. This was the real source of the drunkenness which disgraced the aristocracy of Britain in the last generation. I am old enough to have seen the last dying disgraces of that age. They were imperfectly educated, had few or no mental resources, and betook themselves to drinking for the sake of mental stimulus, almost as a last resource. This view affords also an explanation of the fact that many professional men in the law and medicine, who reside in the provinces, fall into these pernicious habits. They do not find, in their limited sphere of duties, constant stimulus for their minds, and they apply to the bottle to eke out their enjoyments.

A more extensive and scientific education is the most valuable remedy for these evils. We have seen higher cultivation banish drunkenness from all the classes pretending to any rank or respectability in society, and the same effect may be expected to follow from the extension of education downwards.

The last causes of pauperism to which I advert, are the great convulsions which occur every few years in our manufacturing and commercial systems, which by deranging trade, throw many individuals out of employment, give them the habit of relying on charity, and sink them so low in their habits, and in their own self estimation, that they never recover their independence.

If, then, I am correct in the opinion, that the chief causes of pauperism are—First, a low temperament, and imperfect development of brain, attended with a corresponding mental imbecility, although not so great as to amount to idiocy,—Secondly, hereditary or acquired habits of intoxication, which impair the mind by lowering the tone of the whole nervous system,—Thirdly, gross ignorance; and Fourthly, depression arising from commercial disasters—then the question whether the poor ought to be provided for, as a duty incumbent on society, is easily solved. To leave them destitute would not remove any one of these causes, but tend to increase them all. To allow our unhappy brethren, who thus appear to be as frequently the victims of evil influences over which they have little or no control, as of their own misconduct, to perish, or to linger out a miserable existence unprotected and unprovided for, would not only be a direct infringement of the dictates of Benevolence and Conscientiousness, which should be our ruling feelings, and an outrage on Veneration, (seeing that God has commanded us to succor and assist them;) but it would

tend directly to the injury of our own interests. The fact that the world is arranged by the Creator on the principle of dispensing happiness to the community in proportion to their obedience to the moral law, is here beautifully exemplified. By neglecting the poor, the number of individuals possessing deficient brains and temperaments is increased; the number of drunkards is increased; and the number of the ignorant is increased; and as society carries these wretched beings habitually in its bosom; as they prowl about our houses, haunt our streets, and frequent our highways, and as we cannot get rid of them,—it follows, that we must suffer in our property, and in our feelings, until we do our duty towards them. Nay, we must suffer in our health also, for their wretchedness is often the parent of epidemic diseases, which do not confine their ravages to them, but sweep away indiscriminately the good, and the selfish, the indolent, and the hard hearted, who have allowed the exciting causes to grow into magnitude beside them.

On the other hand, by applying vigorous measures not only to maintain the poor, but to remove the causes of pauperism, all these evils may be mitigated, if not entirely removed. If a practical knowledge of the organic laws were once generally diffused through society, and a sound moral, religious, and intellectual education were added, I cannot doubt that the causes of pauperism would be unspeakably diminished. Phrenology conveys a striking conviction to the mind that precepts or knowledge are not sufficient *by themselves* to insure correct conduct. The higher faculties of the mind must be brought into a state of *sufficient vigor* to be able practically to resist, not only the internal solicitations of the animal propensities, but the temptations presented by the external world, before sound precepts can be realized in practice. Now, a favora-

ble state of the organs, on the condition of which mental strength or feebleness in this world depends, is an indispensable requisite towards the possession of this vigor; and as this fact has not hitherto been known,—at least, has not been attended to,—it seems to me that society does not yet know a tythe of its own resources for mitigating the evils which afflict it. The temperance societies are extremely useful in this respect. The substitution of comfortable food for intoxicating beverages, has the direct tendency to benefit the whole nervous system, and to increase the vigor of the higher powers of the mind. Society at large should bend its whole energies, directed by sound knowledge, towards the accomplishment of this end.

Holding it then to be clearly both the duty and interest of society to provide for the poor, the next question is, how should this be done; by legal assessment, or by voluntary contributions? Phrenology enables us to answer this question, also. The willingness of any individual to bestow charity, depends not exclusively on the quantity of wealth which he possesses, but on this, and on the strength of the benevolent principles in relation to the selfish in his mind. Now, we discover by observation, that the organs of the benevolent and selfish feelings differ very widely in relative size in different individuals, and experience supports the conclusion which we draw from this fact, that their dispositions to act charitably, or the reverse, are as widely different. Not only so, but as the leading principle of our present social system is the pursuit of self-interest, it may be stated as a general rule, (allowance being always made for individual exceptions,) that those in whom the selfish feelings, with intellect and prudence, predominate, will possess most wealth; and yet this very

combination of faculties will render them least willing to bestow. Their wealth and benevolence will in general be in the inverse ratio of each other. This inference, unfortunately, is also supported by facts. It has frequently been remarked that the humbler classes of society, and also the poorer members of these classes, bestow more charity in proportion to their incomes, than the very wealthy. To trust to voluntary contributions, therefore, would be to exempt thousands who are most able, but least willing, to bear the burden, and to double it on those who are most willing, but least able to support it.

It appears to me that while the present principles of social action enjoy the ascendency, compulsory assessment is indispensable, and I am inclined to carry it the length of assessing for the support of the poor in all their forms. There are voluntary societies for supporting the destitute sick, for maintaining a House of Refuge, the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, the Royal Infirmary, and many other charitable institutions. I have been told that these, and all the other public charities of Edinburgh, are supported by about 1500 benevolent individuals, many of whom subscribe to them all, and most of whom subscribe to several, while the remaining 20,000 or 30,000 of the adult population of the city and suburbs, never contribute a farthing to these objects. In a sound social system this ought not to be the case. It is a social duty incumbent on us all to alleviate the calamities of our unfortunate, and even of our guilty brethren; and until our moral principles shall be so quickened, as to induce us *all* to discharge our shares of this duty voluntarily, we should be compelled to do so by law.

I regret to say that one of the most striking examples of the undisguised predominance of the selfish principles is afforded by the Society to which I have

the honor professionally to belong. The members of the College of Justice, are exempted, by an old act of Parliament, from assessments for supporting the poor and providing for the clergy, in this city. I shall consider the question of the church at a subsequent stage of this course, but in the meantime remark, that not the shadow of a reason can be advanced for that exemption, in so far as regards the support of the poor; yet the society of writers to the Signet have repeatedly refused, although urgently requested, to waive this privilege, and bear their proportion, along with the other citizens, of this christian burden. It is encouraging, however, to the believers in the tendency of the moral sentiments to gain the ultimate ascendency, to learn, that although in the society to which I allude, the minority was only eleven, or some such small number, on the first division which took place for foregoing the exemption, yet that at every subsequent division, in consequence of discussion, it has increased, and is now equal to very nearly one half of the society; so that I have no doubt, that in time, it will be voluntarily relinquished.

On another point I am disposed to carry our social duties farther than is generally done. I regard the money applied to the maintenance of the poor as, at present, to a great extent wasted, in consequence of no efficient measures being adopted by society, to check pauperism at its roots. If I am correct in ascribing it to a low temperament, imperfect development of brain, habits of intoxication, ignorance, and commercial fluctuations, efficient means must be used to remove these causes, before it can possibly either cease, or be effectually diminished; and as the removal of them would, in the end, be the best policy, both for the public and the poor, I am humbly of opinion that the community, if they were

alive to their own interests, as well as to their duty, would supply the pecuniary means for laying the axe to the root of the tree, and by a thorough education and elevation of the physical and mental condition of the lower classes of society, would bring pauperism to a close, or at all events, diminish its present gigantic and increasing dimensions. Here the regret always occurs, that our senseless wars should have wasted so much capital that we must provide twenty-seven millions of pounds sterling, annually, forever, to pay the interest on it; a sum which, but for these wars, might have been applied to the moral advancement of society, and have spread a thousand blessings in its train. If our moral sentiments were once rendered as active as our propensities have been, and I fear still are, we should apply our public assessments to benevolent and beneficial objects, and render them liberal in proportion to the magnitude of the work to be accomplished, and pay them with a hearty good will, because they would all return to ourselves in social blessings.

The question is frequently asked, how are these principles, even supposing them to be founded in nature, ever to be carried into execution, seeing that the opinions of society are so much opposed to them that they are scarcely listened to, even as speculative propositions, with patience. In answer, I appeal to the experience of the world. All new opinions are rejected, and their authors persecuted or ridiculed at first; but, in all instances in which they have been true, they have been ultimately adopted. Galileo was imprisoned for proclaiming the first principles of a philosophical astronomy. Fifty years elapsed before his opinions made any perceptible progress, but now they are taught in schools and colleges, and the mariner guides his ship by them on the ocean. It was the same in regard to the circulation of the blood, and it will be

the same in regard to the application of the new philosophy to the social improvement of man. The present generation will descend, contemning it, to their graves, but we are sowing seeds in young minds that will grow, flourish, and ripen into an abundant harvest of practical fruits in due season. A thousand years are with the Lord as one day, and with society a hundred years are as one day in the life of an individual. Let us sedulously sow the seed, therefore, trusting that if it be sound and good, it will not perish by the way side, but bring forth fruits of kindness, peace, and love, in the appointed season.

I forbear presenting any particular plan by which the objects now detailed may be accomplished, because no plan can become practical until the public mind be instructed in the principles, and convinced of the truth of the doctrines which I am now teaching; and whenever they shall be so convinced, they will devise plans for themselves with infinitely greater facility and success than we can pretend to do, who live only in the dawn of the brighter day.

The next social duty to which I advert, relates to the treatment of criminals, or of those individuals who commit offences against the persons or property of the members of the community. The present practice is to leave every man to the freedom of his own will, until he have committed an offence; in other words, until he have seriously injured his neighbor; and then to employ, at the public expense, officers of justice to detect him, witnesses to prove his crime, a jury to convict him, judges to condemn him, and jailers to imprison, or executioners to put him to death, according as the judges shall have decreed. It will be observed, that in all this proceeding, there is no inquiry into the causes which led to the crime, into the remedies for crime, or into the effects of the treat-

ment administered on the offender, or on society; yet every one of these points ought to be considered, and clearly understood, before we can be in a condition to judge correctly of our social duties in regard to the treatment of crime and criminals.

As to the cause of crime—the almost universal belief at present is, that man is so completely a free agent, that he can command not only his actions, but his inclinations and his will; and hence, that when a clear law which his intellect can comprehend, is laid down for his guidance, he is a just and proper subject for punishment if he infringe it. The premises and the conclusion in this view are consistent with each other, and if this were a correct description of human nature, there would be no gainsaying the propriety of the practice. We should still, however, find a difficulty in accounting for our want of success in putting an end to crime; for, if these principles of criminal legislation and punitive infliction be sound, it appears a strange anomaly that crime has every where, and in every age, abounded most where punishment, especially severe punishment, has been most extensively administered, and that it has abated in all countries where penal infliction has become mild and merciful. There is, however, an error in this view of human nature, which Phrenology enables us to detect.

It appears incredible, that any man should commit crime in a well governed country like this, where detection and punishment are almost certain to overtake him, if he were not urged by impulses which obtain the mastery over conscience and reason. We need not waste time, however, in speculating on this subject, but may come at once to facts. The brain may be divided into three great regions; those of the animal propensities, moral sentiments, and intellectual faculties.

In some individuals, the organs of the propensities bear the ascendency, in point of size, over those of the moral and intellectual faculties. Such men feel the impulses of passion very strongly, and are urged by vigorous internal selfish desires, which vehemently crave for gratification; and on the other hand, they possess only feeble glimpses of moral obligation, and a glimmering of intellectual perception. When beings thus constituted are placed in a dense society, in which every man is struggling to acquire property and to advance his own fortunes, they commence the same career; but they take the road that first presents itself to their own peculiar minds;—they are impatient to obtain gratification of their passions; they feel few restraints from conscience or religion, as to the mode of doing so;—they are greatly deficient in intellectual capacity, in patience, perseverance, and acquired skill; and from all these causes, they rush to crime, as the directest method of realizing pleasure.

The class of minds which forms the greatest contrast to this one, is that in which the moral and intellectual organs decidedly predominate in size, over those of the animal propensities. Individuals thus constituted have naturally strong feelings of moral and religious obligation, and vigorous intellectual perceptions, while the solicitations of their animal passions are relatively moderate.

The third class is intermediate between these two. They have the organs of the propensities, of the sentiments, and of the intellectual faculties, nearly in a state of equilibrium. They have strong passions, but they have also strong powers of moral and religious emotion, and of intellectual perception.

Fortunately, the lowest class of minds is not numerous. The highest class appears to me to abound extensively; while the middle class is also numerous.

The middle and the highest class are at least as twenty to one, in proportion to the lowest.

I am aware that many of my present audience, who have not attended to Phrenology, may regard these, not as facts, but as dangerous fancies and speculations. To such persons, I can only say, that if they will take the same means to discover whether these are truths in nature or not, that Phrenologists have done, they will find it as impossible to doubt of their reality, as of the existence of the sun at noon day; and there is no rule of philosophy by which facts should be disregarded, merely because they are unknown to those who have never taken the trouble to observe them. I respectfully solicit you to consider that the brain is not of human creation, but the workmanship of God, and that it is a most pernicious error to regard its functions and its influence on the mental dispositions with indifference. I, therefore, assume that the views now presented are founded in nature, and proceed to apply them in elucidation of our social duties in the treatment of criminals.

In the case of persons possessing the lowest class of brains, we are presented with beings whose tendencies to crime are naturally very strong, and whose powers of moral guidance and restraint are very feeble. We permit such individuals to move at large, in a state of society in which intoxicating liquors, calculated to excite and gratify their animal propensities, are abundant and easily obtained, in which property, the great means of procuring pleasure, is every where exposed to their appropriation; we proclaim the law, that if they invade this property, or if, in the ecstasies of their drunken excitement, they commit violence on each other, or on the other members of the community, they shall be imprisoned, banished, or hanged, according to the degree of their offence; and in that condition,

we leave them to the free action of their own faculties and the influence of external circumstances.

It appears a self-evident proposition, that if such men are afflicted with strong animal passions, (a proposition which few will dispute,) there must be an antagonist power, of some kind or other, to restrain and guide them, before they can be led to virtue or restrained from vice. Now, the well constituted members of society, judging from their own minds, assume that these individuals possess moral feelings and intellectual capacities adequate to this object, if they choose to apply them. The conviction, on the other hand, forced on me by observation, not only of the brain, but of the lives and histories of great and habitual criminals, is, that they do *not* enjoy these controling powers in an adequate degree to enable them successfully to resist the temptations presented by their passions and external circumstances. In treating of the foundations of moral obligation, I mentioned that I had repeatedly gone to jails, and requested the jailers to write down the character and crimes of the most distinguished inmates of the prisons; that before seeing these descriptions, I had examined their heads and written down the character and crimes which I inferred from the development of their brains, and that the two had remarkably corresponded. This could not have happened, unless the brain and external circumstances in such cases determined the actions of the individual. Especially, wherever the moral organs and the intellectual organs are very deficient, and the organs of the propensities large, I found the whole life to have been devoted to crime, and to nothing else. I saw a criminal of this description, who had been sent to the lunatic asylum in Dublin in consequence of the belief, that a life of such undeviating wickedness as he had led could result only from in-

sanity; for he had repeatedly undergone every species of punishment, civil and military, short of death, and had also been sentenced to death; all without effect. Yet the physician assured me that he was not insane, in the usual acceptation of the term; that all his mental organs and perceptions, so far as he possessed them, were sound, but that he had scarcely any natural capacity of feeling or comprehending the dictates of moral obligation, while he was subject to the most energetic action of the animal propensities whenever an external cause of excitement presented itself. In him the brain, in the region of the propensities, was enormously large, and very deficient in the region of the moral sentiments. The physician, Dr. Crawford, remarked, that he considered him most properly treated when he was handed over to the lunatic asylum, because, although his brain was not diseased, the extreme deficiency in the moral organs rendered him morally blind, just as the want of eyes would render a man physically incapable of seeing.

In October, 1835, I saw another example of the same kind in the jail of Newcastle, in the person of an old man of 73, who was then under sentence of transportation for theft, and whose whole life had been spent in crime. He had been twice transported, and at the age of 73, was still in the hands of justice, to suffer for his offences against the law.* These are facts, and being facts, it is God who has ordained

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*In October, 1839, I visited the state prison of Connecticut, at Wethersfield, near Hartford, in presence of the Rev. Mr. Gallaudet, Principal Totten, and other gentlemen, and saw a man in whose head the moral organs were very deficient and the animal organs large. Mr. Pilsbury, the superintendent of the prison, stated that this man had passed thirty years of his life in the state prison, under four several sentences, and that he had no doubt, that if then liberated, he would be again engaged in crime in a week.

them. Phrenologists are no more answerable for them, or their consequences, than the anatomist is answerable for blindness, who demonstrates that the cause of that malady is a defect in the structure of the eye. Blame appears to me to lie with those persons who, under an infatuation of prejudice, refuse to examine into these most important facts when they are offered to their consideration, and who resolutely decline to give effect to them in the treatment of criminals.

The question now presents itself, What mode of treatment does this view of the natural dispositions of criminals suggest? Every one is capable of understanding, that if the optic nerve be too feeble to allow of perfect vision, or the auditory nerve too small to permit complete hearing, the persons thus afflicted should not be placed in situations in which perfect vision and hearing are necessary to enable them to avoid doing evil: nay, it will also be granted, without much difficulty, that deficiency in the organ of Tune may be the cause why some individuals have no perception of melody; and it will be admitted, that on this account, it would be cruel to prescribe to them the task of learning to play even a simple air, under pain of being severely punished if they failed. But most people immediately demur when we assure them that some human beings exist, who, in consequence of deficiency in the moral organs, are as blind to the dictates of benevolence and justice, as these are deaf to melody, and that it is equally cruel to prescribe to them, as the law does, the practice of moral duties, and then to punish them severely because they fail. Yet the conclusion that this treatment is cruel is inevitable, if the premises be sound. What then should be done with this class of beings? for I am speaking only of a class, small in comparison with the great mass

of society. The established mode of treating them by inflicting punishment has not been successful. Those who object to the new views, constantly forget that the old method has been an eminent failure,—that is to say, that crime has gone on increasing in amount, in proportion as punishment has been abundantly administered; and they shut their eyes to the conclusion which experience has established, that be the causes of crime what they may, punishment has not yet been successful in removing them, and, therefore, that it cannot, on any grounds of reason, be asserted that it is by itself sufficient for this purpose. The new philosophy dictates that the idea of punishment, considered as mere retribution, should be discarded. Punishment, in this sense, really means vengeance; and the desire for inflicting it arises from an erroneous conception of the structure and condition of the criminal mind, and from the activity of our own passions, which are excited by the injuries inflicted on us by the actions and outrages of this class of persons. Our duty is to withdraw external temptation, and to supply, by physical restraint, that deficiency of moral control which is the great imperfection of their minds. We should treat them as moral patients. They should be placed in penitentiaries where they could be prevented from abusing their faculties, yet be humanely treated, and be permitted to enjoy as much of liberty and comfort as they could sustain without injuring themselves or their fellow men. They should be taught morality, knowledge, and religion, so far as their faculties enable them to learn; and they should be trained to industry. This mode of treatment would render their lives happier than they could ever be, were their persons left at large in society, and it would make them also useful. I consider the restoration of this class of persons to the possession of a moral self-control as

nearly hopeless: they resemble those who are blind and deaf from irremediable defects in the organs of sight and hearing. If, however, by long restraint and moral training and instruction, they should ever become capable of self-guidance, they should be viewed as patients who have recovered, and be liberated, on the understanding that if they should relapse into immoral habits, they should be restored to their places in the asylum.*

The objection is frequently stated that this doctrine abolishes responsibility; but I am at a loss to comprehend the exact import of this objection. As formerly mentioned, the distinction between right and wrong does not depend on the freedom of the human will, as many persons suppose, but on the constitution of our faculties. Every action is morally right which gratifies our sentiments of Benevolence, Veneration, and Conscientiousness, enlightened by intellect, and every action is wrong which outrages or offends them. Hence, if we see a furious madman or a mischievous idiot, whom no one supposes to be free agents, burning a house or murdering a child, we are compelled, by our whole moral faculties, to condemn such actions as wrong, and to arrest the perpetrator of them in his wild career. Now, the case of the class of offenders which we have been discussing, is precisely analogous. Like the madman, they act under the influence of uncontrollable passions, existing in their case, in consequence of the *natural* predominance of certain organs

*I have conversed on the subject of the irreclaimable dispositions of this class of criminals, with intelligent and humane superintendents of prisons in Britain and the United States of America, and they have expressed a decided conviction that there are prisoners whom no punishment will recall to virtue, but who, when liberated, constantly recommence their career of crime.

in the brain, and in his, from ascendency of the passions produced by cerebral disease. Their actions are, without hesitation, condemned, and we never doubt that we ought to stop their outrages, although we do not regard the men as guilty. The only question, therefore, is by what means may their actions be most effectually arrested. The disciples of the old school answer, that this may best be done by punishment; but in doing so, they turn a deaf ear to the lessons of experience, which proclaim only the failure of this treatment in times past; they close their understandings against the examination of new facts, which promise to account for that failure; they assume, in opposition to both evidence and experience, that these men can act rightly if they choose, and that they *can* choose if they will; and finally, by virtue of all these prejudices, errors, and false assumptions, they hold themselves absolved from all obligation of acting rationally towards them; and without consideration for the real welfare either of society or of the offenders, they indulge their own animal resentment by delivering over the infringers of the law to jailers and executioners to be punished for doing what their defective mental constitution rendered it impossible for them to avoid committing. There is no wonder that crime does not diminish under such a form of administration.

The disciples of the new philosophy, on the other hand, answer the question by appealing to experience; by looking at facts; by consulting reason; by regarding the advantage at once of the criminal and of society,—and say, that physical and moral restraint are the only effectual remedies for this great evil, and that these should be unhesitatingly applied—not vindictively, but in affection and humanity; and that then this class of criminals will cease to afflict society.

There remain two other classes of minds to be considered in relation to criminal legislation,—those whose organs of propensity, sentiment, and intellect, are equally balanced, and those in whom the moral and intellectual faculties predominate; but the consideration of these must be reserved till the next Lecture.

LECTURE XIII.

THE CONSIDERATION OF THE CAUSES OF PAUPERISM AND THE SUBJECT OF CRIMINAL LEGISLATION, CONTINUED.

The second class of heads to which I directed your attention, is that in which the organs of the animal propensities, of the moral sentiments, and of the intellectual faculties, are all large, and nearly in equilibrium. In such individuals the large organs of the propensities give rise to vivid manifestations of the animal feelings, but the large organs of the moral sentiments and intellect, produce equally strong impulses of moral emotion and of intellectual perception. In their practical conduct, therefore, they are, to a remarkable extent, the creatures of external circumstances. If one of them be born of profligate parents, abandoned to idleness, intoxication and crime, his whole lower organs will thus, from infancy, be presented with objects calculated to call them into vivid action, while his moral sentiments will receive no proportionate training. The intellectual faculties will be employed only in serving and assisting the propensities. They will be denied all rational and useful instruction, while they will be sharpened to perpetrate crime, and to avoid punishment. An individual thus constituted and trained will become an habitual criminal, and he

will be the more dangerous on account of the moral and intellectual faculties which he possesses. These will give him an air of intelligence and plausibility, which will enable him only the more successfully to deceive, or to obtain access to places of trust in which he may commit the more extensive peculations.

If, on the other hand, an individual thus constituted be placed from infancy, in the bosom of a moral, intelligent and religious family, who shall present few or no temptations to his propensities, but many powerful and agreeable excitements to his higher faculties; if he shall have passed the period of youth under this influence, and in early manhood have been ushered into society with all the advantages of a respectable character, and been received and cherished by the virtuous as one of themselves;—then his moral and intellectual faculties may assume and maintain the ascendency through life.

If again, an individual of this class have been religiously educated, but at an early period of life, have left home, and been much thrown upon the world, that is to say, left to associate with persons of indifferent characters and dispositions, he may gradually deteriorate in his mental condition. In the prime of manhood and blaze of his passions, he may be not a little profligate and disreputable in his conduct: But as he advances in life, the energy of the animal organs will begin to decay; they will be exhausted by excessive indulgence; the moral organs may recover an activity which has long been unknown to them; his early religious impressions may resume their ascendency; he may perhaps sustain afflictions in his health, in his family, or in his worldly circumstances,—all which have the tendency, for the time, to quell the energy of the animal passions, and to allow the higher feelings freer scope for action; and under the influ-

ence of all these combined causes and circumstances, he may come forth a repentant sinner, and a reformed man. In religion, this process is generally called regeneration. According to my observation, the men who are converted and reformed from habitual profligacy, and who continue, thereafter, permanently moral and religious characters, have all possessed this combination of brain. They became profligates at first, from the energetic action of large organs of the animal propensities; and when they were converted, and continued to be respectable christians after their conversion, they acted under the control of their moral and intellectual organs. I am aware, that in making this statement, I am treading on delicate ground, because many sincere and excellent persons believe that these results flow from the influence of the Holy Spirit, and that the Holy Spirit operates in regenerating sinners altogether independently of the laws of organization; in short, that the influence is miraculous. Without questioning the influence of the Spirit, in regeneration, (a point of doctrine which is purely theological, and does not fall within the scope of these lectures,) I observe that the real question is, whether the Spirit operates in harmony with, or without reference, or even in direct opposition to, the laws of organization. I feel myself constrained by the dictates of truth to say, that my observations on actual cases, lead me to the conclusion, that the action is uniformly in harmony with the laws. The brain and its laws proceed from God, and the Holy Spirit is God's Spirit. To believe, therefore, that God establishes laws in nature, and prescribes to the human understanding a certain line of action in order to obey them; and at the same instant promises the influence of his Spirit to set them all at naught, and to produce the same beneficial results without such obedience,

seems to me to be little calculated to promote the glory of God, or to benefit the human race. Be it observed, that I do not at all dispute the *power* of God to operate independently of the natural laws. The very idea of his being omnipotent, implies power to do, according to his pleasure, in all circumstances and times; my proposition is simply this—that the age of miracles being past, it does not now please God to operate on the human mind either independently of, or in contradiction to, the laws of organization instituted by himself. This reduces the question, not to one respecting God's power, for we all grant this to be boundless, but to one of *fact*,—whether it pleases Him actually to manifest his power over the human mind, *always* in harmony with, or sometimes independently of, and at other times in contradiction to, the laws of organization; and this *fact*, like any other, must be determined by experience and observation. Now, I humbly report the results of my own observation; and say that, although I have seen a number of men of renewed lives, I have never met with one possessing a brain of the lowest character, who continued permanently moral amidst the ordinary temptations of the world. On the contrary, I have seen these regenerated men uniformly to possess the brain in which the organs of the animal propensities, the moral sentiments, and the intellect, were all considerably developed; so that in these instances, the influence of religion seemed to me to operate completely in *harmony* with the organic laws. That influence cast the balance in favor of the higher sentiments, gave them the permanent ascendency, and hence, produced the regenerated character. These observations can be met, not by argument, but by counter facts. If any one will show me cases in which men possessing the defective brains of idiots, or the

diseased brains of insanity, have, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, been at once converted into rational and pious christians, these will completely contradict my observations; because they will show unequivocally that it does please God, in some instances, to operate on the mind, even in our day, independently of, or in contradiction to, the laws of organization. Nay, if examples shall be produced of men possessing the worst brains, becoming permanently, by the influence of religion, excellent practical christians, I shall yield the point. But I need scarcely say, that no such examples have yet been adduced. On the contrary, we see individuals whose heads are less than thirteen inches in circumference, at the level of the eyebrows and occipital spine, continue irretrievable idiots through life; and we see madmen continue insane, until their brains are restored to health, by natural means. Nay, farther, the late Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson, who attended Mary Mackinnon, the mistress of a brothel, while under sentence of death for murder, told me that he found it impossible, on account of a very great natural incapacity of mind, to convey to her any satisfactory views or feelings of religion, or of the heinousness of her guilt, and that he was greatly grieved to observe, that nearly all he said fell powerless, without making any impression on her mind, or if it did rouse any feeling, it lasted only for a moment. If you examine the development of the head, as shewn in the cast, you will find that the moral and intellectual organs are extremely deficient. She was, in regard to moral, intellectual, and religious impressions, nearly in the same state in which a person is, in regard to melody, who possesses an extremely small organ of Tune. He either does not perceive the melody at all, or if he does, the impression dies instantly when the instrument has ceased to sound.

Perhaps some of you may be of opinion, that this is a discussion which belongs more to theology than to moral philosophy, and that a miscellaneous audience are not the proper persons to whom to address remarks on so grave a subject. The question regarding what *is* the *scripture doctrine* touching regeneration, belongs to theology, and I avoid all discussion of it; but assuming it to *be* the scripture doctrine, the question, does the Holy Spirit act in harmony with, or in contradiction to, the laws of organization? is one which belongs to philosophy. The question, indeed, is a fundamental one in moral philosophy; because, if the laws of nature, on which alone philosophy rests, are liable, in the case of morals, to be traversed by divine influences operating independently of, or in contradiction to them, *moral philosophy* can have no foundation. There may be a theology comprising a code of moral duty, founded on revelation; but assuredly there can be no philosophy of morals founded on nature. In like manner there can be no natural religion; because all our observations and conclusions, in both branches of science, would be constantly liable to be falsified, and rendered worse than useless, by a supernatural influence producing results entirely independent of, or in contradiction to, the causes which were presented in nature for the guidance of our understandings. This question, therefore, is not only important, but fundamental to a course of moral philosophy; and I could not consistently avoid introducing it. Theologians in general, deny that any sound philosophy of morals can be drawn from the study of nature, and found morals, as well as religion, exclusively on revelation. It appears to me that they err in this conclusion; and that theology will be improved, when divines become acquainted with the

natural consitution of the human faculties and their spheres of action.

I beg you to observe, that in the manner in which I submit this question to your consideration, it assumes a different aspect from that in which it generally appears. In the discussions which commonly take place on it, we find arguments and opinions stated against arguments and opinions; and the result is generally mere unprofitable disputation. In the present case, I adduce facts,—in other words, God's Will written in his works; and these are placed, not against his written revelation, (for, be it observed, he has nowhere said in scripture that the Holy Spirit operates independently of, or in contradiction to, the natural laws,) but against human inferences unwarrantably (as it appears to me) drawn from scripture, that this is the case. It is God's facts in nature which we place against human inferences deduced from scripture; and these inferences too, deduced at first, and now insisted on, by men who were, and are, entirely ignorant of the facts in question.

Secondly, I introduce this subject because I consider it to be of great importance that religious persons should be correctly informed concerning the facts. If you examine the lists of the members of the most useful and benevolent societies all over the country, and especially of prison discipline societies, you will discover that individuals, distinguished for their religious character, form a large and a highly influential proportion of them. These persons act boldly and conscientiously on their own principles; and if, in any respect, their views happen to be erroneous, they become, by their very sincerity, union and devotion, the most formidable enemies to improvement. In consequence of profound ignorance of the facts in nature which I have stated, this class of persons, or at least

many of them, are alarmed at the doctrine of the influence of the brain on the mental dispositions, and oppose the practical application of the views which it dictates in criminal legislation, or prison discipline; and they refuse obstinately to inquire into the facts; because they imagine that they have the warrant of scripture for maintaining that they *cannot be true.* This conduct is unphilosophical, and sheds no lustre on religion. It impedes the progress of truth, and greatly retards the practical application of the natural laws, to the removal of one of the greatest evils with which society is afflicted. This is no gratuitous supposition on my part; because I know, from the best authority, that within these few weeks, when the prison discipline society of this city was formed, religious men specially objected to the admission of an individual into that society, because he was known to be a phrenologist, and to hold the opinions which I am here expounding: in other words, an individual who had studied and observed the Creator's laws in regard to the influence of the brain on the mental dispositions, was deliberately excluded from that society, lest he should induce it to act on the knowledge of these laws. You may judge of the wisdom of this proceeding.

Thirdly—I introduce this subject because, from the extensive observations which have been made by Dr. Gall, Dr. Spurzheim, and their followers, during the last five and thirty years, in all parts of the world, I have the most complete conviction that the facts which I now state are true, and that they will inevitably prevail; and that whenever they do prevail, the enemies of religion will be furnished with a new weapon with which to assail her, by the opposition which religious persons are now making to improvements in the treatment of criminals, in ignorance, as I have

said, of these facts and of their inevitable consequences. They will point to that opposition, and proclaim, as they have often done, that religion sets herself forward as the enemy of all philosophy, and of every moral and social improvement, which does not emanate from her own professors. Such an accusation will be most unfounded when directed against religion; because it will be applicable only to a few religious men, or to some ill informed and dogmatical individuals; but only the candid will give effect to this distinction, and it, therefore, becomes every sincere friend to the best and holiest of causes, not to give occasion to the scoffer, to point the finger of contempt at it, by resisting truth.

To return to the subject from which we have digressed, I observe, that in the case of this class of brains, in which the organs of the propensities, sentiments, and intellectual faculties, are nearly in equilibrium, society enjoys a great power in producing good or evil. If, by neglecting education, by encouraging the use of intoxicating liquors, by bringing on commercial convulsions attended with extreme destitution, society allow men possessing this combination of mental organs to be thrown back, as it were, on their animal propensities, it may expect to rear a continual succession of criminals: If, by a thorough and all pervading education, moral, religious, and intellectual; by the best regulated social institutions, providing steady employment, with adequate remuneration; and also by affording opportunities for innocent recreation; this class of men shall be led to seek their chief enjoyments from their moral and intellectual faculties, and to restrain their animal propensities; they may be effectually saved from the pit of perdition, and prevented from invading the property and peace of society. It is from this class that the great mass

of criminals arises; and as their conduct is determined, to a great extent, by their external circumstances, the only means of preventing them from becoming criminals, is, to fortify their higher faculties by education, and to remove external temptation, by improvement, as far as possible, of our social habits and institutions.

There are instances of individuals committing crime, who do not belong precisely to either of the classes which I have described, but who have, perhaps, one organ, such as Acquisitiveness, in great excess, or another, such as Conscientiousness, extremely deficient. These individuals occasionally commit crime, under strong temptation, although their dispositions, in all other points, are good. I knew an individual, in the situation of a confidential clerk, who had a good intellect, much Benevolence, Veneration, and Love of Approbation, but in whom a large organ of Secretiveness was combined with a great deficiency of Conscientiousness. His life had been respectable for many years, in the situation of a clerk, while his duty was merely to write books, and conduct correspondence; but when he was promoted, and entrusted with buying and selling, and paying and receiving cash, his moral principles gave way; and the temptation was not a selfish one. He was much devoted to religion, and he began by lending his master's money, for a few days, to his religious friends, who did not always pay him back; he then proceeded to assist the poorer brethren with it; he next opened his house in great hospitality to the members of the congregation to which he belonged: These expenses speedily placed his cash so extensively in arrears, that he had no hope, by any ordinary means, of recovering the deficiency; and he then purchased lottery tickets, to an enormous extent, trusting to a good prize for his restoration to

honor and independence. These prizes never came, and the result was, disclosure, disgrace, and misery.

Now, the way to prevent crime, in cases like this, is to avoid presenting temptation to men whose defective moral organs do not enable them to withstand it. Phrenology will certainly come to the assistance of society in this course of proceeding; because it affords unequivocal means of determining beforehand, whether any great moral deficiency exist; and after the present generation shall be laid in the grave, the next will not be ashamed to apply it in so beneficial a manner. It is known, that notwithstanding every effort on the part of the chief officers of the post-office in Britain, to select honest individuals for that department, numerous depredations take place in it; so that a day never closes, on which one or more capital felonies have not been committed, in abstracting money from letters. I called the attention of Sir Edward Lees, the enlightened secretary of the Edinburgh post-office, to the aid which Phrenology might afford towards the remedy of this evil, by enabling the government to select individuals in whom the moral and intellectual organs so decidedly predominate over those of the animal propensities, that they would be free from internal temptations to steal, and of course be more able to resist the external temptations presented by their opportunities to do so. He visited the Museum of the Phrenological Society, where I showed him the skulls and busts of upwards of seventy executed criminals, from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and enabled him to compare them with the skulls and busts of virtuous men; and he acknowledged that the differences were so palpable, that it was impossible to mistake them, and that he could not see any sufficient reason why Phrenology should not be applied in this manner; but

added, truly, that he was only a subordinate functionary, and had no power to carry so great an innovation into practice.

The reason I introduce these facts is, to solicit your attention to the dereliction of social duty, which the better constituted members of society continue to commit, while they neglect to use the light which Providence is here presenting to their eyes. If government, or individuals, place men in whom the animal faculties predominate, or in whom the balance between them and the moral powers only hangs in equilibrium, in external circumstances in which temptations are presented to the inferior faculties stronger than they are able to resist, a great portion of the guilt of their offences lies with them; and although the criminal law does not recognize this as guilt, the natural law clearly does so, for it punishes the offenders. The loss, annoyance, and sometimes ruin, which ensue from these depredations, are the chastisements for having placed improper persons in situations for which they were not qualified. It may appear hard, that these punishments should have been inflicted for so many generations, while men did not possess any adequate means for discriminating natural dispositions, so as to be able to avoid them. This difficulty presents itself, in regard to all the natural laws; and the only answer that can be offered is, that it has pleased Providence to constitute man a progressive being, and to subject him to a rigid discipline, in his progress to knowledge. Our ancestors suffered and died under the ravages of small pox, until they discovered vaccination; and we still suffer under cholera, because we have not yet found out its causes and remedies. There are merchants who employ Phrenology in the selection of clerks, warehouse-men, and

other individuals in whom confidence must be placed, and they have reaped the advantages of its lights.

I may here remark, that the number of really inferior brains is not great; and of all the countless thousands who are entrusted with property, with the power of appropriating or misapplying it, the number is comparatively small who actually do so. Still, those who do not know how to judge of dispositions from the brain, are left under an habitual uncertainty whether any particular individual, on whose fidelity their fortunes depend, may be found, on some unlucky day, to belong to the inferior order, when they had always regarded him as an example of the highest class.

I repeat, then, that the first step towards *preventing*, and thereby *diminishing* crimes, is to avoid placing men with inferior brains in external circumstances of temptation, which they are not calculated to resist. The second is, to give every possible vigor to the moral and intellectual faculties, by exercising and instructing them, so as to cast the balance of power and activity in their favor. And the third is, to improve, as sedulously as possible, our social institutions, so as to encourage the activity of the higher powers, and diminish that of the inferior faculties, in all the members of society.

The next question is, how ought men, having brains of this middle class, to be treated, *after they have yielded to temptation*, infringed the law, and been convicted of crime? The established method is, before trial, to confine them in crowded prisons, in utter idleness, in the presence of criminals like themselves; and after trial and condemnation, to continue them in the same society, with the addition of labor, to transport them to New South Wales, or to hang them. In no aspect

of European and Christian society, are there more striking marks of a still lingering barbarism, than in this treatment of criminals. In almost no other institutions of society are there more glaring indications of an utter want of the philosophy of mind, than in the prisons of Britain. But let us descend to particulars.

We have seen that men of the middle class, and they are by far the most numerous of all the criminals, are led into crime in consequence of the ascendency, for the time, of their animal propensities; but that, nevertheless, they possess, to a considerable extent also, moral sentiments and intellect. In treating them as criminals, we may have various objects in view. First—Our object may be revenge, or the desire to inflict suffering because they have made society suffer. This is the feeling of savages, and of all rude and naturally cruel minds; and if we avow this as our principle of action, and carry it consistently into effect, we should erect instruments of torture, and put our criminals to a cruel and lingering death. But the national mind is humanized far beyond the toleration of this practice. I humbly think, however, that as we profess to be so, we ought utterly and completely to discard the principle of revenge, or vengeance, from our treatment, as unchristian, unphilosophical, and inexpedient, and not to allow it to mingle covertly, as I fear it still does, with our views of criminal legislation.

Or, secondly—Our object may be, by inflicting suffering on criminals, to deter other men from offending. This is the general and popular notion of the great end of punishment; and when applied to men of the middle class of faculties, it is not entirely destitute of foundation. Individuals who are strongly solicited by their animal propensities, and have a very great deficiency of the moral and intellectual faculties, that is to say, criminals of the lowest grade of

brain, are not alive even to the fear of suffering; and the terror of punishment scarcely operates on them. You will find them committing capital felonies, while they are attending the execution of one or more of their previous associates, for similar offences. It appears to me, that with that class of men, even the terror of punishment scarcely produces an appreciable effect on conduct; and some persons, drawing their observations from this class alone, have concluded, as a general rule, that suffering inflicted on one offender does not deter any other individuals from committing crime. But I respectfully differ from this opinion. Wherever the organs of the moral and reflecting faculties possess considerable development, example does produce some effect; and the higher the moral and intellectual faculties rise in power, the more completely efficacious does it become. What one of us would not feel it as an enormous evil, to be dragged to prison; to be locked up, night and day, in the society of the basest of mankind; to be publicly tried at the bar of a criminal court, and subsequently transported as a felon to a distant colony? Most of us instinctively feel that death itself, in an honorable form, would be perfect bliss, compared with such a fate. If, therefore, any of us ever felt, for a moment, tempted to infringe the criminal law, unquestionably the contemplation of such appalling consequences of guilt would operate, to a considerable extent, in steadying the steps of virtue. But the error is very great, of supposing that all men are constituted with such nice moral sensibilities as these. Superior minds feel in this manner, solely because their moral and intellectual organs are large; and the same feelings do not operate, to the same extent, in the case of men possessing inferior brains. Laws have been enacted, in general, by men possessing the best class of brains,

and they have erroneously imagined that mere punishment would have the same effect on all individuals as it would have on themselves. While, therefore, I consider it certain, that the fear of punishment *does operate* beneficially on the waverers, I regard its influence as much more limited than is generally believed. In proportion to the intellectual talent of a man who has a tendency to commit crime, will be his power of anticipating the consequences of detection; but in the same proportion will be his capacity of eluding them, by superior address in his criminal acts; and thus there is a counteracting influence, even in the possession of intellect. The faculty chiefly addressed by the prospect of punishment, is Fear, or Cautiousness; and although, in some men, this is a powerful sentiment, yet, in many, the organ is deficient, and there is little consciousness of the feeling.

On the whole, therefore, the conclusion at which I arrive on this point is, that the condition of convicted criminals should be such as should be felt to be a very serious abridgement of the enjoyments of moral and industrious men; and this it must necessarily be, even under the most improved method of treating them; but I do not consider it advisable that one pang of suffering should be added to their lot for the sake of deterring others, if that pang be not calculated to prove beneficial to themselves.

Thirdly—Our object in criminal legislation may be, at once, to protect society by example, and to reform the offenders themselves. This appears to me to be the real and legitimate object of the criminal law in a christian country, and the question arises, how may it best be attained?

A condemned criminal is necessarily an individual who has been convicted of abusing his animal propensities, and thereby inflicting evil on society. He has

proved by his conduct, that his moral and intellectual powers do not possess sufficient energy, in all circumstances, to restrain his propensities. Restraint, therefore, must be supplied by external means; in other words, he must, both for his own sake and for that of society, be taken possession of, and prevented from doing mischief; he must be confined. Now, this first step of discipline itself, affords a strong inducement to waverers to avoid crime, because, to the idle and dissolute, the lovers of ease and pleasure, confinement is a sore evil; one which they dread more than a severe, but shorter infliction of pain. This measure is recommended, therefore, by three important considerations,—that it serves to protect society; to reform the criminal; and to deter other men from offending.

The next question is, how should the criminal be treated under confinement? The moment we understand his mental constitution and condition, the answer becomes obvious. Our object is to abate the activity of his animal propensities, and to increase the activity and energy of his moral and intellectual faculties. The first step in allaying the activity of the propensities, is to withdraw every object and communication that tends to excite them. The most powerfully exciting causes to crime are idleness, intoxication, and the society of immoral associates. In our British jails, criminals in general are utterly idle; they are crowded together, and live habitually in the society of each other; intoxication being the only stimulus that is withdrawn. If I wished to invent a school or college for training men to become habitual criminals, I could not imagine an institution more perfect for the purpose, than one of our jails. Men, and often boys, in whom the propensities are naturally strong, are left in complete idleness, so that their strongest and lowest faculties may enjoy ample leisure to luxuriate; and they are placed in each other's society, so that their pollu-

ted minds may more effectually avail themselves of their leisure in communicating their experience to each other, and cultivating, by example and precept, the propensities into increased energy, and more extensive activity. The proper treatment would be to separate them, as much as possible, from each other; and while they are in each other's society, to prevent them, by the most vigilant superintendence, from communicating immoral ideas and impressions to each other's minds. In the next place, they should be all regularly employed; because nothing tends more directly to subdue the inordinate activity of the animal propensities than labor. It occupies the mind, and physiologically it drains off, by the muscles, the nervous energy from the brain, which, in the case of criminals, is the grand stimulus to their large animal organs. The greater the number of the higher faculties that the labor can be made to stimulate, the more beneficial it will be. Mounting the steps of a treadmill exercises merely the muscles, and acts on the mind by exhausting the nervous energy and producing the feeling of fatigue. It does not excite a single moral or intellectual faculty. Working as a weaver or shoemaker, would employ more of the intellectual powers; the occupations of a carpenter or blacksmith, are still more ingenious; while that of a machine maker stands higher still in the scale of mental requirement. Many criminals are so deficient in intellect, that they are not capable of engaging in ingenious employments; but my proposition is, that wherever they do enjoy intellectual talent, the more effectually it is drawn out, cultivated, and applied to useful purposes, the more will their powers of self-guidance and control be increased.

Supposing the quiescence of the animal propensities to be secured by restraint and by labor, the next ob-

ject obviously is, to impart vigor to their moral and intellectual faculties, so that they may be rendered capable of mingling with society at a future period, without relapsing into crime. The moral and intellectual faculties can be cultivated only by addressing to them their natural objects, and exercising them in their legitimate fields. If any relative of ours possessed an average development of the bones and muscles of the legs, yet had, through sheer indolence, lost the use of them and become incapable of walking, should we act wisely, with a view to his recovery, by fixing him into an arm-chair, from which it was impossible for him to rise? Yet, when we lock up criminals in prison, amidst beings who never give expression to a moral emotion without its becoming a subject of ridicule, when we exclude from their society all moral and intelligent men calculated to rouse and exercise their higher faculties, and when we provide no efficient means for their instruction, we do in fact as effectually deprive all their superior powers of the means of exercise and improvement, as we would do the patient with feeble legs, by pinioning him down into a chair. All this must be reversed. Effectual means must be provided for instructing criminals in moral and intellectual duty, and for exercising their moral and intellectual faculties. This can be done only by greatly increasing the number of higher minds that hold communion with them; and by encouraging them to read and exercise all their best powers in every practicable manner. The influence of visiters in jails, in ameliorating the character of criminals, is explicable on such grounds. The individuals who undertake this duty, are, in general, prompted to it by the vivacity of their own moral feelings; and the manifestation of them towards the criminals, excites the corresponding faculties in them into action. On

the same principle on which the presence of profligate associates cultivates and strengthens the propensities, does the society of virtuous men excite and strengthen the moral and intellectual powers.

By this treatment the offender would be restored to society with his inferior feelings tamed, his higher powers invigorated, his understanding enlightened, and his whole mind and body trained to industrious habits. If this should not afford society a more effectual protection against his future crimes, and be more in consonance with the dictates of christianity than our present treatment, I stand condemned as a vain theorist; but if it would have these blessed effects, I humbly intreat of you to assist me in subduing that spirit of ignorance and dogmatism which represents these views as dangerous to religion and injurious to society, and presents every obstacle to their practical adoption.*

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*The prisons in the United States of America are conducted in a manner greatly superior to those of Great Britain and Ireland; but even they admit of improvement. I shall add some remarks on them to the next Lecture.

Since my arrival in the United States in September, 1838, an extraordinary number of instances of frauds, committed by men holding high official situations, have been announced in the public prints, and a vast extent of individual suffering has been the consequence. Such occurrences reflect disgrace on the society under whose institutions they so extensively prevail. The remarks on p. 297, are far more applicable to the United States, than even to Britain.—[January, 1840.]

LECTURE XIV.

OF THE DUTY OF SOCIETY IN REGARD TO CRIMINAL LEGISLATION AND PRISON DISCIPLINE.

I proceed to consider the duty of the highest class of minds,—or that comprising individuals in whom the moral and intellectual organs decidedly predominate over those of the inferior propensities,—in regard to criminal legislation and prison discipline. This class has received from Providence ample moral and intellectual powers, with as much of the lower elements of our nature as are necessary for their well being, in the present sphere of existence, but not so much as to hurry them into crime. Such individuals, therefore, have a great deal of power committed to them by the Creator, and we may be permitted to presume that he will hold them responsible for the use which they make of it. I regret to observe, that through lack of knowledge, this class has hitherto fallen far short of their duty, in the treatment of criminals. In my last lecture, I remarked, that as revenge is disavowed by christianity, and condemned also by the natural law of morality, we should exclude it entirely, as a principle, in our treatment of criminals; but that, nevertheless, it may be detected mingling more or less with many of our criminal regulations. I proceed to illustrate this position, and to point out its baneful consequences.

In committing men to prisons in which they shall be doomed to idleness,—in compelling them to associate, night and day, with each other, (which is the most effectual method of eradicating any portion of moral feeling left unimpaired in their minds,)—and in omitting to provide instruction for them—society seems, without intending it, to proceed on the principle of revenge, almost exclusively. Such treatment may be painful, but it is clearly not beneficial to the criminals; and yet pain, deliberately inflicted, without benefit to the sufferer, is simply revenge. Perhaps it may be thought that this treatment will serve to render imprisonment more terrible, and thereby increase its efficacy as a means of deterring other men from offending. No doubt it will render it very terrible to virtuous men,—to individuals of the highest class of natural dispositions,—because nothing *could* be more horrible to them, than to be confined in idleness, amidst vicious, debased, and profligate associates; but this is not the class on whom prisons are intended to operate as objects of terror: These men have few temptations to become criminals. Those to whose mental perceptions prisons should be rendered formidable, are the lovers of pleasure, men enamored of an easy, dissolute life, enlivened with animal excitement, not oppressed with labor, and not saddened by care, reflection, or moral restraint. Now, our prisons, as at present conducted, are not formidable to such characters. They promise them idleness, the absence of care, and the stimulus of profligate society. On this class of minds, therefore, they lose almost entirely the character of objects of terror and aversion; undeniably they are *not* schools of reform; and they therefore have no recognizable feature so strongly marked on them as that of instruments of vengeance, or means employed by the higher minds, for inflicting

on their inferior brethren what, judging from their own feelings, they intend to be a terrible retribution, but which these lower characters, from the difference of their feelings, find to be no formidable punishment at all. Thus, through sheer ignorance of human nature, the one class goes on indulging its revenge, in the vain belief that it is deterring offenders; and the other class proceeds in its career of crime, in nearly utter disregard of the measures adopted to deter it from iniquity; and at this day, our whole measures are as far from being crowned with success, as they were a century ago.

If any class deserve punishment for these proceedings, I would be disposed to inflict it on the higher class, or on the men to whom a bountiful Creator has given judgment to understand, and moral sentiments to feel the obligations of duty, and thereby ample ability to reclaim from vice and crime their less fortunate brethren, but who, through ignorance, and the helplessness that accompanies it, leave this great duty undischarged. In point of fact, the natural law does punish them, and will continue to punish them, until they discharge their duty as rational men and christians. If we reckon up the cost, in the destruction of life and property, expenses of maintaining criminal officers, courts of justice, and executioners, and the pangs of sorrow, flowing not only from pecuniary loss, but from moral disgrace sustained by the relatives of profligate offenders, we may regard the sum total as the penalty which the virtuous pay for their blind neglect of the rational principles of criminal legislation. If the sums thus expended were collected and applied, under the guidance of enlightened judgment, to the construction and proper appointment of penitentiaries, one or more for each large district of the country, and if offenders were committed to them for

reformation, the total losses to society would not be greater than those of the present system, while the advantages would unspeakably exceed them.

In regard to the treatment of criminals, when placed in such penitentiaries, I beg to call your attention to the fact, that in the sentences pronounced under the present system, the principle chiefly, although unintentionally, acted on by the superior class of society, appears to be revenge, or vengeance. If a boy rob a till of a few pence, he is sentenced to eight days' imprisonment in jail; that is, to eight days' idleness, passed in the society of accomplished thieves and profligate blackguards, at the end of which space he is liberated. The only conceivable principle here is, that the eight days' confinement causes a quantity of suffering equal to a fair vengeance for robbing the till. If a female steal clothes from a hedge, she is sentenced to sixty days' confinement in Bridewell, where she is forced to work, in the society of ten or a dozen of profligates like herself, during the day, and is locked up alone during the night. At the end of the sixty days she is liberated, and turned adrift on society. If a man commit a more extensive theft, he is committed to Bridewell for three months, or perhaps transported; the term of confinement and the period of transportation bearing a uniform, and, as far as possible, a supposed just relation to the magnitude of the offence. Now, there is really no principle very distinctly recognizable here, except revenge. There was a maxim in the old law, that a debtor who was not able to pay in coin must pay in skin; that is to say, that his skin must suffer pain, or punishment, in proportion to the magnitude of the debt which he was unable to discharge; which, being interpreted, amounted to this—that the creditor should

enjoy the gratification of taking vengeance on his debtor's person, as a compensation for the pleasure lost by his withholding the money. This was an intelligible principle for savages to act on, who recognized the gratification of revenge as an enjoyment; but it is at utter variance with christianity, which teaches long suffering, and the forgiveness of injuries. It has, to a considerable extent, been laid aside in the civil law; but we see that it reigns in too much vigor in the criminal code. It may reasonably be asked, how can it be laid aside, and what other principle can be adopted in its place?

If we renounce altogether, the principle of vengeance as unchristian, we shall still have other two principles remaining as guides to our steps: first, That of protecting society,—and secondly, That of reforming the offender.

The principle of protecting society authorises us to do every thing that is necessary to accomplish this end, under the single qualification that we shall adopt that method which is most beneficial for society, and least injurious to the criminal. If, as I have contended, the world be really constituted on the principle of the supremacy of the moral sentiments, we shall find, that whatever measures serve best to protect society, will also be most beneficial for the offender, and *vice versa*. In the view, then, of protecting society, any individual who has been convicted of infringing the criminal law, should be handed over as a moral patient to the managers of a well regulated penitentiary, to be confined in it, not until he shall have endured a certain quantity of suffering, equal in magnitude to what is supposed to be a fair revenge for his offence, but until such a change shall have been effected in his mental condition, as may afford

society a reasonable guarantee, that he will not commit fresh crimes when he is set at large. It is obvious that this course of procedure would be humanity itself to the offender, compared with the present system, while it would unspeakably benefit society. It would convert our prisons from houses of vengeance and of corruption, into schools of reform. It would require however an entire change in the principles on which they are conducted.

The views which I have expounded in this and the preceding Lecture are strongly elucidated and confirmed by a report of the state of the Glasgow Bridewell, in 1826, which I obtained from Mr. Brebner, the very enlightened and truly humane superintendant of that establishment.

State of Crimes and Offences.

	Year ending 31st Dec. 1825.			Year ending 31st Dec. 1826.		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Commitments during the year,	558	703	1261	688	713	1401
Deduct recommitments of same individual in the currency of the yr.	101	279	380	124	281	405
Remains nett number of different persons,	457	424	881	564	432	996
Whereof in custody for the first time,	360	209	569	444	189	633
Old offenders,	97	215	312	120	243	363

Mr. Brebner has observed that offenders committed for *the first time*, for only a short period, almost invariably return to Bridewell for new offences; but if committed for a long period, they return less frequently. This fact is established by the following table, framed on an average of ten years, ending 25th December, 1825.

Of prisoners sentenced for *the first time* to 14 days' confinement, there returned under sentence for new crimes about 75 per cent.

30	days'	confinement, about	60	"
40	"	" "	50	"
60	"	" "	40	"
3	months'	" "	25	"
6	"	" "	10	"
9	"	" "	7½	"
12	"	" "	4	"
18	"	" "	1	"
24	"	" "	none.	

During the ten years, 93 persons were committed for the first time for two years, of whom not one returned.

Mr. Brebner remarked that when prisoners come back to Bridewell two or three times, they go on returning at intervals for many years. He has observed that a good many prisoners committed for short periods for first offences, are afterwards tried before the High Court of Justiciary and transported or hanged.

Judging from the ultimate effect, we here discover that the individuals who for some petty offence are committed to Bridewell for the first time, for only 14 days, are in reality more severely punished than those who, for some more grave infringement of the law, are sentenced at first to two years imprisonment; nay the ultimate result to the petty delinquent would have been far more beneficial, if for his trifling offence he had been sentenced to two years' confinement instead of 14 days. The sentence of 14 days imprisonment merely destroyed his moral sensibilities, (if he had any,) initiated him in the knowledge of the mysteries of a prison, introduced him to accomplished thieves, enabled him to profit by their instruction, and when thus deteriorated, and also deprived of all remnants

of character, it turned him loose again into the world, unprotected, and unprovided for, leaving him to commit new crimes and to undergo new punishments, (which we see by the table he rarely failed to do,) until, by gradual corruption, he was ultimately prepared for transportation or the gallows. Of the delinquents sentenced to only 14 days' confinement for their first offence, 75 per cent., or three-fourths of the whole, returned for new crimes. On the other hand, the training, discipline, and ameliorating effect of a confinement for two years, for the first offence, seems to have been so efficacious, that not one individual who had been subjected to it, returned again to the same prison as a criminal.* This proves, that looking to the ultimate welfare of the individuals themselves, as well as to the interests of society, there is far greater *humanity* in a sentence for a first offence, that shall *reform* the culprit, although the *offence itself* may be small and the *confinement long*, than in one for a few days only, proportional solely to the *amount of the crime*.

If the humane principles which I now advocate shall ever be adopted, (and I feel confident that they will be,) the sentence of the criminal judge, on conviction of a crime, would simply be one finding that the individual had committed a certain offence; that he was not fit to be allowed to live at large in society; and therefore granting warrant for his transmission to a penitentiary, to be there confined, instructed, and employed, until liberated in due course of law. The process of liberation would then become the one of the greatest importance. There should be official inspectors of penitentiaries, invested with some of

* Mr. Brebner mentioned that he did not believe that *all* of these individuals were completely reclaimed; but that they had received such impressions of Glasgow prison discipline, that if disposed to return to crime, they sought out a new field of action.

the powers of a court, sitting at regular intervals, and proceeding according to fixed rules. They should be authorized to receive applications for liberation at all their sessions, and to grant the prayer of them, on being completely satisfied that such a thorough change has been effected on the mental condition of the prisoner, that he may be safely permitted to resume his place in society. Until this conviction be produced, upon examination of his dispositions, of his attainments in knowledge, of his acquired skill in some useful employment, and of his habits of industry, and in short, of his general qualifications to provide for his own support, to restrain his animal propensities from committing abuses, and to act the part of a useful citizen, he should be retained as an inmate of the prison. Perhaps some individuals, whose dispositions appeared favorable to reformation, might be liberated at an earlier period, on sufficient security, under bond, given by responsible relatives or friends, for the discharge of the same duties towards them in private, which the officers of the penitentiary should discharge in public. That is to say, if a youth were to commit such an offence as would subject him, according to the present system of criminal legislation, to two or three months confinement in Bridewell, he might be handed over to individuals of undoubtedly good character and substance, under a bond that they should be answerable for his proper education, employment and reformation; and fulfilment of this obligation should be very rigidly enforced. The principle of revenge being disavowed and abandoned, there could be no harm in following any mode of treatment, whether private or public, that should be adequate to the accomplishment of the other two objects of criminal legislation—the protection of so-

ciety and the reformation of the offender. To prevent abuses of this practice, the public authorities should carefully ascertain that the natural qualities of the offender admit of adequate improvement by private treatment; and secondly, that private discipline shall be actually administered. If any offender liberated on bond should ever re-appear as a criminal, the penalty should be inexorably enforced, and the culprit should never again be liberated, except upon a verdict finding that his reformation had been completed by a proper term of training in a penitentiary.

If such a system were adopted, it would be of the utmost importance to have a sound and serviceable philosophy of mind, to guide the footsteps of judges, managers, inspectors, liberating officers, and criminals themselves; because, without such a philosophy, the treatment would be empirical, the results unsatisfactory, and the public disappointment great. Phrenology appears to me to be such a philosophy, and when applied, I have every expectation that it will be found adequate to the object.

If, keeping the principles which I have explained in view, you read attentively the various systems of prison discipline which have been tried, you will discover some glaring defect in one essential particular or another in all of them, and perceive that their success has been great or small in proportion as they have approached to, or receded from these principles. A few years ago, there was a rage for treadmills in prisons;—these were expected to accomplish great effects. The phrenologist laughed at the idea and predicted its failure, for the simplest of all reasons: Crime proceeds from over-active propensities and under-active moral sentiments and intellect; and all that the treadmill could boast of accomplishing, was

to fatigue the muscles of the body, leaving the propensities, sentiments and intellectual faculties exactly in the same condition, after the fatigue was removed by rest, in which they had been before it was inflicted. The advocates of the treadmill proceeded on a theory of mind of their own: They asserted that the irksomeness of the labor would terrify the offenders so much, that if they had once undergone it, they would remain moral during their whole lives, to avoid encountering it again. But this was purely an imagination. The labor, although painful at the time, did not, in the least, remove the *causes* of crime; and after the pain had ceased, these continued to operate, offences were repeated, and treadmills have now fallen considerably into disrepute.

In America, various improved systems of prison discipline have been practised.* "In the prisons of Auburn and Sing-Sing, in the State of New York, and at Weathersfield in the State of Connecticut, the system which has been adopted, is that combining solitary confinement at night, hard labor by day, the strict observance of silence, and attention to moral and religious improvement. At sunrise, the convicts proceed in regular order to the several work-shops, where they remain under vigilant superintendence until the hour of breakfast, when they repair to the common hall. When at their meals, the prisoners are seated at tables in single rows, with their backs towards the centre, so that there can be no interchange of signs. From one end of the workrooms to the other, upwards of five hundred convicts may be seen without a single individual being observed to turn his head towards a visiter. Not a whisper is heard throughout the apart-

* Simpson on Popular Education, p. 294.

ments. At the close of day, labor is suspended; and the prisoners return in military order to their solitary cells; there they have the opportunity of reading the Scriptures, and of reflecting in silence on their past lives. The chaplain occasionally visits the cells, instructing the ignorant, and administering the reproofs and consolations of religion. The influence of these visits is described to be most beneficial; and the effect of the entire discipline is decidedly successful in the prevention of crime, both by the dread which the imprisonment inspires, and by the reformation of the offender. Inquiries have been instituted, relative to the conduct of prisoners released from Auburn penitentiary—the prison in which this system has been longest observed—and of two hundred and six discharged, who have been watched over for the space of three years, one hundred and forty-six have been reclaimed, and maintained reputable characters in society."

This is, obviously, a great improvement on British prisons, but still it is not perfect. Too little is done with the view of calling forth the moral and intellectual faculties of the prisoners, and the terror of punishment seems to be too much relied on. It appears that of the two hundred and six here mentioned, as discharged, sixty have resumed criminal habits. It would be interesting to know how many of these individuals possessed brains of the lowest class, or were so deficient in the moral and intellectual organs, as scarcely to be reclaimable by any treatment; and how many belonged to the middle class of brains. Without knowing this, it is impossible to judge to what extent the treatment is really effectual in reforming all who are capable of reformation.

It will follow, from these principles, that the punishment of death may be ultimately abolished. The

committee of the Prison Discipline Society of London, in their eighth Report, "Declare their conviction that an effectual substitute may be found for the penalty of death in a well regulated system of penitentiary discipline; a system which shall inspire dread, not by intensity of punishment, but by unremitted occupation, seclusion, and restraint. The enforcement of hard labor, strict silence, and a judicious plan of solitary confinement, will be found the most powerful of all moral instruments for the correction of the guilty; and when to these is added the application of religious instruction, the utmost means are exercised which society can employ for the punishment and reformation of human character."

In the British and Foreign Quarterly Review for February, 1836, there is an article entitled "Moral Statistics," which affords much curious information as to the management of prisons in France, and the character of the prisoners. The prisoners are remarkable for an indifference about human life. They neither fear to give nor to receive death. A prisoner, when the judge was summing up the evidence against him, exclaimed, "Get on, Mr. President, you tire me. Every thing that you say is true. I killed the man; put *me* to death; but do not fatigue me with so many words!" The London Courier of 2d February, 1836, remarks—"Whatever may be its cause, there can be no doubt that the population, at least of Paris, are careless of the lives of others, and of their own. On such a population, inflicting the punishment of death can only serve, by its example, to nourish the regardlessness of life. Over their minds it can have no salutary influence; and as long as its beneficial effects are doubtful, it is only prudent to take the safe side, and cease to inflict it. The government has humanely taken that course; at least, it has left in the hands of

the jury to decide, if there are extenuating circumstances attending even the crime of murder; and the consequence is, that the number of executions is rapidly decreasing. By such a step it has, we hope, gone in advance of the age; and we should anticipate that its own avowed care and tenderness of the lives, even of criminals, will have the salutary effect of begetting a tenderness for life, and a greater desire to preserve it, than now prevail in the mass of the population of France."

It is gratifying to know that the same humane principles are prevailing with our own government, and that capital punishment is less and less resorted to, with much benefit to society. Whenever the principles, which I am now advocating, come to be practically adopted, capital punishment will be unnecessary. I state from a pretty extensive observation, that it is only the lowest class of minds that are prone to commit desperately wicked and outrageous crimes, and they very rarely arrive at them, as their first step in turpitude. They fall into the hands of justice first for minor offences; and if they were then treated according to their nature and mental condition, they would not have opportunities afterwards of committing atrocious actions. If the brains of any of them be so very deficient in the moral and intellectual organs, that thorough reformation is hopeless, they should be detained as moral patients for life. If they be capable of amendment, they should be set at liberty only after reasonable security has been obtained for subsequent good conduct, by subjecting them to salutary discipline and instruction.

In leaving the subject, I solicit your attention for a moment to the harmony between this whole system of criminal legislation, and the precepts of christianity.

We are told to love our neighbor as ourselves: Now, if any of us were conscious of immoral dispositions, which threatened to bring us into misery through crime, in our cool moments of reflection we should bless the hand that would arrest and reclaim us, as here recommended. Again, we are commanded to forgive injuries; to return good for evil; and to love even our enemies. In this whole scheme, there is not a particle of resentment or revenge; there is no retribution for the injuries committed, but good is returned for evil; that is to say, measures of moral reformation are put in practice towards the offender as the return for the injury he has done to society. Suffering to him will attend the use of these means, but it is not inflicted by society designedly as punishment; it is the chastisement appointed by the Creator under the natural laws; it is the pain which the wicked feel in being stript of their vices; but it is doubly compensated by the pure enjoyment which ultimately accompanies a reformed mind. Finally—If criminals be the great enemies of their own social welfare, is there a more effectual method of loving them, than by reforming them, and restoring them to the dignity and happiness of virtue? I believe that the great obstacle to improvement has been the want of knowledge, and not the want of will. The character of criminals appeared to be an inexplicable enigma, and the wisest of men did not know how to deal with them. They tried, perhaps, a particular method of treatment, and it succeeded with some, had no effect on others, and rendered a third class worse; and it was then abandoned; another plan was followed, and with similar results. Among other experiments, the effect of extensive executions was tried. Within my recollection the favorite maxim was, that to prevent crime, it was necessary to render the law terrible, and punish-

ment certain; and under this notion, almost every man convicted of theft, robbery, forgery or murder, was hanged. In London ten and a dozen human beings were frequently executed at once, and this was repeated several times a year. In Edinburgh the execution of two or three individuals at a time, was not uncommon, and the executions recurred to a greater or less extent every few months. This practice was found not to be successful; and transportation to New South Wales was then more extensively resorted to. This mode of punishment did not embody one element of reason in its conception from beginning to end. The convicts were confined in the society of each other, before transportation; they were sent on a long voyage utterly idle, and also in each other's society; and when they were landed, they were delivered over, without any moral or intellectual instruction, to the free settlers in that colony, as bonded servants. Their nature not being changed, they robbed and murdered their masters whenever opportunities occurred. This has been discovered to be an unsuccessful method of repressing crime, and many voices have been already raised against it. Besides being altogether irrational in so far as the criminals are concerned, it is extremely injurious to the interests of the colony:—As the qualities of the brain, like the features and expression of the face, descend to the children of the convicts, their immoral dispositions are thereby ingrafted into the constitution of the future population; and deliberate preparation is made for calling into existence a long succession of individuals afflicted with unfavorably constituted brains, and immoral dispositions. Lord Bacon, even in his day, denounced the practice of transporting criminals to colonies as extremely immoral and injurious, on this very account. Lately, much attention has been paid to penitentiaries, and government

has sent commissioners to the United States of America, to study and report on the management of the most successful prisons in that country, with a view to improve our own. I do not expect that either the Americans, or our lawgivers will succeed until they avail themselves of the lights afforded by the physiology of the brain. The same modes of treatment will not suit men whose brains and dispositions are very differently constituted, and until legislators shall condescend to take the brain as an index to the natural dispositions, they will never know, with reasonable certainty, to what individuals to apply one kind of treatment, and to whom to administer another; yet until they *shall* know how to do this, and how to adopt their discipline to the natures of the different men with whom they are dealing, success will be impossible. The great importance of this subject I trust will plead my apology for detaining you so long with the consideration of it. If you see truth in any of the views which I have expounded, I again respectfully, but earnestly, solicit you to support and to diffuse a knowledge of them in your respective circles in society, because it is only by the exertions of many, that prejudice can be overcome, and truth be rendered ultimately triumphant.

Postscript to the preceding Lecture.—Since the preceding Lecture was delivered in Edinburgh, I have personally visited the State Prisons at Boston; at Blackwell's Island and Auburn, in the State of New York; the Eastern Penitentiary and the Moyamensing Prison, of Philadelphia; and the State Prison at Weathersfield, Connecticut. I cheerfully testify to their great superiority over the vast majority of British prisons, but I am still humbly of opinion that they proceed on an imperfect knowledge of the nature of

the individuals who are confined and punished in them.

There is a wide difference between the natural mental constitution of most criminals and that of men virtuously disposed. I have accompanied several American citizens, of great intelligence and high social consideration, to these prisons, and enabled them to observe that the inmates of them, generally, are deficient in the organs of the moral sentiments, and largely endowed with the organs of the animal propensities; and that from this combination they are naturally predisposed to crime. The intellectual organs are possessed by them in various degrees; but extensive observation has convinced me that the intellectual powers are not sufficient to guide strong animal propensities to virtue, unless they be aided by vigorous moral sentiments.

The criminal law does not inquire into the *causes* which give rise to crime. The trial ascertains merely the *fact* that a crime has been committed, and the sentence is simply the announcement of a certain extent of punishment which must be suffered by the offender. No inquiry is made into the *effect* of the punishment, on the peculiar mental constitution of the individual. Until legislators shall proceed on a sound knowledge of both the causes of crime and the effect of punishment, they will err, and prove unsuccessful. In reference to prison discipline in the United States, I shall notice two classes of persons, which comprise nearly the whole of the inmates of the prisons.

The first class is composed of those in whom the animal organs are large, and those of the moral sentiments and intellectual powers are deficient. I regard the individuals of this class as moral patients, incapable of conducting themselves virtuously when left to

the impulses of their own faculties, amidst the ordinary temptations of society. I have put the question solemnly to the keepers of prisons, whether they believed in the possibility of reforming all offenders; and from those whose minds were most humane and penetrating, I have received the answer, that they did not; and that experience had convinced them that some criminals are incorrigible, by any human means hitherto discovered. These incorrigibles, when pointed out to me, were always found to have the defective organization now described. Their number is not large; they are morally insane; and justice, as well as humanity, dictates that they should be treated as moral patients. They labor under great natural mental defects, and it is no more either just, or beneficial to society, to punish them for actions proceeding from these natural defects, than it would be to punish men for having crooked spines, or club feet. It is true that their actions are injurious to society; but they cannot help their actions; and, therefore, while society has an undoubted right to restrain them, during life, as incorrigible beings, disposed continually to evil, it is bound to treat them with humanity; that is to say, to give them employment, food, clothing, and comfortable lodging, with as much liberty, and no more, as they can enjoy without abusing it.

The American criminal law does not recognize the existence of this class of men, and makes no provision whatever, for their custody for life. The humane and enlightened superintendents of prisons, both in Britain and in the United States, have expressed to me regret that no such provision exists.

Religious persons object to this view, on the ground that it destroys human responsibility. I respectfully remind them that they admit the non-responsibility of idiots and of mad men, although mischievous, and

treat both, when they infringe the criminal law, as patients, and not as culprits. I merely extend this class of cases a little farther; and the maxim is certainly just, that *major aut minus non variat speciem.* If these objectors will inquire into facts, they will find irresistible evidence of the *truth* of what I advance regarding the mental condition of these persons. I repeat, that their number is not large; and maintain that if we act consistently, we must either include them among the insane, or include the vicious insane among criminals.

I have asked these objectors if they would receive into their families, as domestic servants, or into their employment in stores, convicts who had served out their time in state prisons, supposing them qualified by knowledge for the duties of these stations; and most of them have answered that they would not. On being asked why they would decline, they have generally replied, because they had not sufficient confidence in their reformation. There is great inconsistency in such conduct. If they believe that every individual has power to reform himself, and that the prison is wisely framed to operate this reform, it is cruel to assume that the individual in question is not reformed, and to exclude him from social comfort and honor on this assumption. The truth is, they *act* on the principle that some criminals are incorrigible, and that this may be one of the number, and therefore decline placing trust in any. Yet they blame us for teaching the same doctrine, and founding on it a better practice.

The next class of criminals consists of those individuals in whom the animal organs are large, but in whom the moral and intellectual organs also are tolerably well developed. In favorable circumstances, they are capable of being restrained from crime; for

moral and intellectual influences operate on them successfully.

The treatment of this class will be proper, in the exact degree in which it improves and strengthens the moral and intellectual powers, and weakens the animal feelings.

In order to weaken the animal propensities, it is necessary to withdraw from them every exciting influence. The discipline of the American state prisons, in which intoxicating liquors are completely excluded; in which the convicts are prevented from conversing with each other; in which each one sleeps in a separate cell, and in which regular habits and hard labor are enforced, appears to me to be well calculated to accomplish this end.

But this is only the first step in the process which must be completed, before the convict can be restored to society, with the prospect of living in it as a virtuous man. The second is, to invigorate and enlighten the moral and intellectual powers to such an extent, that he, when liberated, shall be able to restrain his own propensities, amidst the usual temptations presented by the social condition.

There is only one way of strengthening faculties, and that is by exercising them; and all the American prisons, which I have seen, are lamentably deficient in arrangements for exercising the moral and intellectual faculties of their inmates. During the hours of labor, no advance can be made, beyond learning a trade. This is a valuable addition to a convict's means of reformation; but it is not all-sufficient. After the hours of labor, he is locked up in solitude; and I doubt much if he can read, for want of light; but assuming that he can,—reading is a very imperfect means of strengthening the moral powers. They must be exercised, trained, and habituated to action.

My humble opinion is, that in prisons there should be a teacher, of high moral and intellectual power, for every eight or ten convicts; that after the close of labor, these instructors should commence a system of vigorous culture of the superior faculties of the prisoners, excite their moral and religious feelings, and instruct their understandings. In proportion as the prisoners give proofs of moral and intellectual advancement, they should be indulged with the liberty of social converse and action, for a certain time on each week day, and on Sundays, in presence of the teachers; and in these *converzationes*, or evening parties, they should be trained to the *use* of their higher powers, and habituated to restrain their propensities. Every indication of over active propensity should be visited by a restriction of liberty and enjoyment; while these advantages, and also respectful treatment, and moral consideration, should be increased in exact proportion to the advancement of the convicts in morality and understanding. By such means, if by any, the convicts would be prepared to enter society with their higher faculties so trained and invigorated, as to give them a chance of resisting temptation, and continuing in the paths of virtue.

In no country has the idea yet been carried into effect, that in order to produce moral fruits, it is necessary to put into action moral influences, great and powerful, in proportion to the *barrenness* of the soil from which they are expected to spring.

A difference of opinion exists among intelligent persons, whether the system of solitary confinement and solitary labor, pursued in the Eastern penitentiary of Pennsylvania, or the system followed in Auburn, of social labor, in silence enforced by inspectors, and solitary confinement after working hours, is most con-

ducive to the ends of criminal legislation. The principles now stated, lead to the following conclusions.

The system of entire solitude weakens the whole nervous system. It withdraws external excitement from the animal propensities, but it operates in the same manner on the organs of the moral and intellectual faculties. Social life is to these powers, what an open field is to the muscles; it is their theatre of action, and without action there can be no vigor. Solitude, even when combined with labor, and the use of books, and an occasional visit from a religious instructor, leaves the moral faculties still in a passive state, and without the means of vigorous active exertion. I stated to Mr. Wood, the able superintendent of the Eastern penitentiary, that, according to my view of the laws of physiology, his discipline reduced the tone of the *whole* nervous system to the level which is in harmony with solitude. The passions are weakened and subdued, but so are all the moral and intellectual powers. The susceptibility of the nervous system is increased, because all organs become susceptible of impressions, in proportion to their feebleness. A weak eye is pained by light, which is agreeable to a sound one. Hence, it may be quite true, that religious admonitions will be more deeply felt by prisoners living in solitude, than by those enjoying society; just as such instruction, when addressed to a patient recovering from a severe and debilitating illness, makes a more vivid impression than when delivered to the same individual in health; but the appearances of reformation founded on such impressions are deceitful. When the sentence is expired, the convict will return to society, with all his mental powers, animal, moral, and intellectual, increased in *susceptibility*, but *lowered in strength*. The excitements that will then assail him, will have their influence doubled,

by operating on an enfeebled system. If he meet old associates and return to drinking, and profanity, the animal propensities will be fearfully excited, by the force of these temptations, while his enfeebled moral and intellectual powers will be capable of offering scarcely any resistance. If he be placed amidst virtuous men, his higher faculties will feel acutely, but be still feeble in executing their own resolves. Convicts, after long confinement in solitude, shudder to encounter the turmoil of the world; they become excited as the day of liberation approaches; and feel bewildered when set at liberty. In short, this system is not founded on, or in harmony with, a sound knowledge of the physiology of the brain, although it appeared to me to be well administered.

The Auburn system of social labor, is better, in my opinion, than that of Pennsylvania, in so far as it allows of a little more stimulus to the social faculties, and does not weaken the nervous system to so great an extent: but it has no superiority in regard to providing efficient means for invigorating and training the moral and intellectual faculties. The Pennsylvania system preserves the convict from contamination by evil communications with his fellow prisoners, and prevents his associates from knowing the fact of his being in prison. These are advantages that go so far to compensate the evils of solitude, but do not remove them.*

* While these remarks are passing through the press, I have seen an excellent work entitled "The Philosophy of Human Life," by Amos Dean, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the Albany Medical College; on page 153 of which, there is a statement of improvements on prison discipline, suggested by the late Edward Livingston, which coincide very closely with the views expressed on pages 326 and 327 of this work. I have not seen Mr. Livingston's own remarks; but I am gratified to find that Mr. Dean, in his able and instructive work, advocates principles similar to those in the text. [Albany, N. Y., January, 1840.]

LECTURE XV.

OF THE DUTIES OF GUARDIANSHIP FOR CHILDREN AND SURETY.

Having discussed the social duties which we owe to the poor and to criminals, I proceed to notice several duties of a more private nature, but which are still strictly social and very important. I refer to the duties of guardianship and surety.

As human life is liable to be cut short at any stage of its progress, there are always existing a considerable number of children who have been deprived by death, of one or both of their parents; and an obligation devolves on some one or more of the members of society, to discharge the duties of guardians towards them. When the children are left totally destitute, the parish is bound to maintain them; and that duty has already been considered under the head of the treatment of the poor. It is only children, therefore, who stand in need of moral guidance, and who inherit property that requires to be protected, whose case we are now considering. We may be called on to discharge these duties, either by the ties of nature, as being the next of kin, or by being nominated guardians or trustees in a deed of settlement executed by the parent who has committed his property and family to our care.

Many persons do not regard these as moral duties, but merely as discretionary acts, which one may discharge or decline without blame, according to his own inclination; and there are individuals, who recount some half dozen of instances in which trustees and guardians have been subjected to great labor and anxiety, and been rewarded by loss, obloquy, and ingratitude; and who, on the exculpatory strength of these cases, wrap themselves up in impenetrable selfishness, and, during their whole lives, decline to act as trustee or guardian for any human being.

It is impossible to deny, that instances of flagrant ingratitude to guardians have occurred, on the part of young persons, but these are the exceptions; and if this system of declinature were to become general, the young, who had lost their parents, would be left as aliens in society, the prey of every designing knave, or be cast on the cold affections of public officers appointed by the state to manage their affairs.

While there are examples of misconduct and ingratitude on the part of wards, there are, also, unfortunately, numerous instances of malversation on the part of guardians; and those who are chargeable with this offence, are often, when called on to account for the funds intrusted to their care, the loudest in complaining of hardship, and want of just feeling, on the part of the wards. I have known some, but very few instances, indeed, in which children, whose affairs had been managed with integrity, and whose education had been superintended with kindness and discretion, have proved ungrateful; but I have known several flagrant instances of cruel mismanagement by guardians. In one instance, a common soldier who had enlisted and gone to the peninsular war, left two children, and property yielding about £70 sterling a year, under charge of a friend. He was not heard of for a

considerable time, and the report became current that he had been killed. The friend put the children into the charity work-house of the town as paupers; and appropriated the rents to his own use. A relative of the soldier, who lived at a distance, at last got tidings of the circumstance, obtained a legal appointment of himself as guardian to the children, took them out of the work-house, prosecuted the false friend, and compelled him to refund the spoils of his treachery. In another instance, both the father and mother of two female children died, when the eldest of the children was only about three years of age. The father was survived by a brother, and also by a friend, both of whom he named as guardians. He left about £3000 sterling of property. The brother was just starting in business, and had the world before him. He put £1500 of the trust money into his own pocket, without giving any security to the children; and during the whole of their minority, he used it as his own, and paid them neither capital nor interest. His co-trustee, who was no relation in blood, was an example of generosity as strikingly as this individual was of selfishness. He lent out the other £1500, took the two children into his house, educated them along with his own family, applied the interest of the half of their fortune which he had rescued, faithfully for their benefit, and finally accounted to them honestly for every farthing. When the children became of age, they prosecuted their *disinterested* uncle for the portion of their funds which he had mistaken for his own; and after a considerable litigation they succeeded in recovering principal, interest, and compound interest, which the court awarded to them, in consequence of the flagrancy of the case; but they were loudly taxed by him and his family with ingratitude, and want

of the due affection for calling to a court of law so near and dear a relative.

As a contrast to this case, I am acquainted with an instance, in which a body of trustees named in a deed of settlement by a mere acquaintance, a person who had no claim on their services, through kindred or relationship, managed, for many years, the funds of a young family,—superintended the education of the children,—accounted faithfully for every farthing that came into their own possession; but who, at the close of their trust, owing to their having employed a law agent, who did not attend to his duty, and to the children having turned out immoral, were sued personally for £1000 each, and were involved in a very troublesome and expensive litigation.

I mention these facts to convey to the younger part of my audience, who may not have had experience in such matters, an idea at once of the trouble and risks which often accompany the duty of guardianship. At the same time, I have no hesitation in saying, that I consider every man bound to undertake that duty, with all its discomforts and dangers, where the dictates of the higher sentiments urge him to do so. If one of our own relatives have been laid in a premature grave, nature calls aloud on us to assist and guide his children with our experience and advice. If we have passed our lives in habits of sincere friendship, and interchange of kindness, with one who is not connected with us by relationship, and if that friend be called, before the ordinary period of human life, to part with his family forever, we are bound by all the higher and purer feelings of our nature, to lend our aid, in so far as our feeble succor will extend, in protecting and assisting his surviving partner and children, if requested by him to do so.

There are instances, however, in which men from vanity, or mere selfish motives, sometimes, in their deeds of settlement, do not appeal to their own respectable relatives and friends for assistance; but name men of eminent rank, as the guardians of their children; under the double expectation of adding a posthumous lustre to their own names, and securing a distinguished patronage to their family. This practice is disowned by conscience, and by just feelings of independence; and trustees called on in such circumstances, to act, are clearly entitled to decline.

Suppose, then, that a case presents itself, in which one of us feels himself called on to accept as a trustee or guardian, under a deed of settlement, what is it his duty to do? There are certain rules of law laid down for the guidance of persons acting in these capacities, with which he should, at the very outset, make himself acquainted. They are framed for the direction of average men, and on the whole, prescribe a line of duty which tends essentially to protect the ward; but which also, when observed, afford an equal protection to the guardian. It has often appeared to me, from seeing the loss and suffering to which individuals are exposed from ignorance of the fundamental rules of law on this subject, that instruction in them, and in other principles of law applicable to duties which the ordinary members of society are called on to discharge, should form a branch of general education.

After having become acquainted with our duties as trustees or guardians, we should bend our minds sedulously to the upright discharge of them. We should lay down a positive resolution not to convert our wards, their property, and affairs, into sources of gain to ourselves, and not to suffer any of our co-trustees to do such an act. However tempting it may be to employ their capital in our own business, and how-

ever confident we may feel that we shall, in the end, honestly account to them for every farthing, still I say we ought not to yield to the temptation. The moment we do so, we commit their fortunes to all the hazards of our own; and this is a breach of trust. We place ourselves in circumstances in which, by the failure of our own schemes, we may become the instruments of robbing and ruining helpless and destitute children, committed, as the most sacred pledges, to our honesty and honor. If this grand cause of malversation be avoided, there is scarcely another that may not be easily resisted.

The next duty after abstaining, ourselves, from misapplying the funds of our wards, is, to keep a sharp eye over our co-trustees or guardians, that none of them may fall into that temptation. Men of sensitive, delicate, and upright minds, who are not in the least prone to commit this offence themselves, often feel extraordinary difficulty in checking a less scrupulous co-trustee in his malpractices. They feel the act to be so dishonorable that they shrink from taxing another with it; and try to shut their eyes to mismanagement as long as possible, solely from aversion to give pain by bringing it to a close. But this is a weakness which is not founded in reason, but on a most erroneous view both of duty and of human nature. I can testify, from my knowledge of human feelings, gained both by means of Phrenology and of some experience and observation in the world, that a man who is thoroughly upright and honest, never objects to be looked after, with the utmost strictness: He is conscious of virtue, and is pleased that his virtue should be discovered, which it can be most effectually by a close scrutiny of his conduct. We shall never, therefore, offend a really good and trustworthy man, by inquiring habitually how he is dis-

charging his duty. On the contrary, he will invite us to do so; and esteem us the more, the more attentively we watch over the affairs of our pupils. On the other hand, if the organs of Conscientiousness be so defective in any individual, that he is tempted to misapply the funds committed to his care, he stands the more in need of being closely watched, and of having his virtue supported by checks and counsel; and we are doubly called on not to allow a false delicacy to seal our lips and tie up our hands, in the very circumstances where the free action of both is most needed. We, therefore, cannot give just offence by the discharge of our duty in this respect: If our co-guardian be honest, he will thank us for our scrutiny; whereas, if he be dishonest, his feeling of offence at our checking his peculation, is like that of a rogue with the officer who detects him and brings him to justice, and is beneath the serious consideration of any rational mind.

But even in this case, we shall give much less offence than we imagine. It is a fact, of which I am convinced by extensive observation, that men in whom the organs of Conscientiousness are deficient, and who are thereby more prone to yield to temptations to infringe justice, have very little of that sensibility to the disgrace of dishonesty, which better constituted minds feel so energetically; and that we may speak to them very plainly about their departures from duty, without their feeling debased. But whether they feel offended, or not, it is the duty of their co-trustees to prevent them from doing wrong.

If the funds of our pupils be properly preserved and profitably invested, there is generally little risk of great failures in the remaining duties of trustees and guardians. These consist generally in seeing that the children are properly maintained, educated,

and set out in life. Every trustee will be more able to discharge these duties well, in proportion to the range and value of his own information. The lectures delivered under the auspices of this association must conduce greatly towards rendering the citizens of Edinburgh better qualified to discharge this social duty. The views which they here obtain of the nature of man, and of the physical world, and of the relations between them, must open up their minds to a perception of what constitutes a really good education, and also render them better judges of the talents, dispositions, and acquirements, on which success in life most generally depends, and thereby enable them to see that these are duly cultivated in their pupils.

The next social duty to which I advert, is that of suretyship, or cautionary, as it is called in Scotland. A surety may engage either to pay a certain sum of money, if the principal obligant fail; or become bound for his good behavior and proper discharge of duty, in any office to which he has been appointed. Great losses and much misery often arise from suretyship; and in consequence, many persons lay down the rule never to become surety for any human being; while others, of a more generous and confiding nature, are ready to bind themselves for almost every one who gives them solemn assurances that they will never be called on to pay. I shall attempt to expound the philosophy of the subject, and we shall then be better able to judge of our duty.

Suretyship is a lame substitute for a thorough knowledge of human nature. There are individual men, whose prudence and integrity are proof against every temptation; and if we were quite certain that any particular individual whom we were about to trust, or whom we intended to employ confidentially in our

affairs, was one of these, we should desire no other security for his solvency or good conduct, than that afforded by his own noble nature. But we know that there are plausible and ostensibly honest men, who are rogues at the bottom, and we never feel certain that the individual whom we are about to trust or employ may not, in an unlucky hour, be found to belong to this class. We, therefore, require that some individual, who knows his dispositions and abilities, and is assured of his prudence and integrity, should certify his possession of these qualities to us, and certify them in the only way which can convince us of the entire sincerity of the recommendation, viz., that of engaging to pay the debt which he incurs, if he do not, or, to indemnify us of loss, if, through negligence or dishonesty, he shall occasion any to arise to us.

It appears to me that the practical application of Phrenology will diminish both the necessity of demanding security and the danger of undertaking it. I have repeatedly shewn to you examples of the three classes of heads; first, the class very imperfectly endowed in the moral and intellectual regions; second, the class very favorably constituted, in which these higher organs have a decided preponderance; and third, the class in which the three regions stand nearly in equilibrium. Now, no man of prudence, if he knew Phrenology, would become security for men of the lowest class, nor be accessary, in any way, to placing them in situations of trust; because this would just be exposing them to temptations, which their weak *moral* faculties were not capable of withstanding. Men, having the highest or best combination of organs, if well educated, may be safely trusted without security; or if we do become bound for them, we shall have little to fear from their misconduct. I have mention-

ed that among several thousand criminal heads which I have seen, I have never met one possessing the highest form of combination. Only once, in a penitentiary in Dublin, I found a female whose head approached closely to this standard, and I ventured to predict that there was diseased action in the brain. The jailer said he was not aware of there being disease, but that the woman was subject to intense and long continued headaches, during which her mental perceptions became obscure; and the physician, on hearing my remark, expressed his own conviction, as having been of long standing, that there was diseased action in the brain. This leaves, then, only the middle class of individuals, or those in whose brains the organs of Propensity, Sentiment, and Intellect, are nearly equally balanced, as those for whose conduct surety would be required, and for whom it would be hazardous to give it. The necessity and the hazard both arise from the same cause. Individuals thus constituted may be moral, as long as external temptation is withheld; but they may, on any day, lapse into dishonesty, when strong inducements are presented; and often the possession of property, committed to their charge in a confidential manner, that is to say, in such a way that they may misapply it for a time without detection, operates as an irresistible temptation, and they change their character, to the consternation of their sureties, in the very circumstances in which their good conduct was most implicitly relied on. We sometimes read in the newspapers of enormous embezzlements, or breaches of trust, or disgraceful bankruptcies, committed by men who, during a long series of years, had enjoyed the most reputable characters; and the unreflecting wonder how men can change so suddenly, or how, after having known the sweets of virtue, they can

be so infatuated as to part with them all, for the hollow illusions of criminal gain. But the truth is, that these men belong to the class in which the three regions of the brain are nearly equally balanced, and their virtue never at any time stood on a very stable foundation. It was poised like a pyramid on its apex, and the breath of external temptation was sufficient at any moment to overset it. Many small slips from the code of perfect morality probably preceded the grand catastrophe; which, moreover, was hastened, if not induced, by the facilities for doing wrong, afforded by the very confidence and good reputation which they had previously enjoyed.

It is of some importance to know the characteristic distinctions of the different classes of minds, in judging in relation to suretyship; because, looking at such obligations, we observe that in some cases, they lead to no loss, while in others, they are ruinous in the extreme. The judgment is perplexed, while we have no means of accounting for these differences of result; but if you will study Phrenology, and apply it practically, it will clear up many of these apparent anomalies, and enable you to judge when you are safe, and when exposed to danger.

We come now to inquire into the practical rule which we should follow, in regard to becoming sureties. In the present state of society, the exacting of security is in many instances indispensable; and I cannot, therefore, see any ground on which the selfishness of those who decline, in all circumstances, to undertake it, can be defended. It appears to me to be a necessary duty, which presents itself to many individuals; and that, although when imprudently discharged, it may be hazardous, we are not, on that account, entitled entirely to shrink from it. There are several precautions, however, which we are not only

entitled, but called on, to adopt, for our own protection. In the first place, no man ought ever to bind himself to pay money to an extent which, if exacted, would render him bankrupt; for this would be to injure his creditors by his suretyship; nay, he should not bind himself gratuitously to pay any sum for another, which, if lost, would seriously injure his own family. In short, no man is called on to undertake gratuitous and benevolent obligations, beyond the extent which he can discharge without severe and permanent suffering to himself; and in subscribing such obligations, he should invariably calculate on being called on to fulfil them by payment. In general, men, even of ordinary prudence, find by experience that they are compelled to pay, at least one half of all the cautionary obligations which they grant, and the imprudent even more. Unless, therefore, they are disposed to go to ruin in the career of social kindness, they should limit their obligations in proportion to their means.

Secondly—We should consider the object sought to be attained by the suretyship. If it be to enable a young man to get into a desirable employment, or to commence business on a moderate scale on his own account, or to help a friend, in a temporary, unexpected and blameless emergency, good may, in all of these instances, result from the act. But if it be merely to enable a person who is doing well, to do, as he imagines, a great deal better; to enable him to extend his business, or to get into a more lucrative situation, we may often pause, and doubt whether we are about to serve our friend, or injure both him and ourselves. According to my observation, the men who have succeeded best in the pursuits of this world, and longest and most steadily enjoyed prosperity and maintained character, are those who, from moderate beginnings,

have advanced slowly and steadily along with the stream of events, aided chiefly by their own talents and mental resources; men who have never hastened to be rich, but who, from the first, have seen that time, economy, and prudence, are the grand elements of ultimate success. These men ask only the means of a fair commencement, and afterwards give no trouble, either to the public or to their friends. Success flows upon them, as the natural result of their own course of action, and they never attempt to force it prematurely. There are other individuals, full of sanguine hope, inordinate ambition, or of a boundless love of gain, who never discover the advantage of their present attainments, but who are constantly aiming at an imaginary prosperity, just at arm's length beyond their reach; and they ask their friends to lend them the aid of their arm, to add to the length of their own, assured that they will then seize the prize. These persons urge their friends to become securities for them, to raise money, in order to extend their business. I would humbly recommend to those to whom this appeal is made, to moderate their pace, instead of accelerating it; to advise them to practise economy and patience; and to wait till they acquire capital of their own to increase their trade. The mental weakness of such men arises from their own over-sanguine, ambitious, and grasping disposition; and it is liable to be fostered, and rendered more dangerous, by encouragement. The chances are many, that they will ruin themselves, and bring serious loss on their sureties. I have seen the most deplorable examples of families absolutely ruined by a single member of them, possessing this character, who, by his brilliant representations of approaching fortune, succeeded in getting possession of the moderate patrimonies of his brothers and sisters, the funds provided

for his mother's annuity, in short, the whole capital left by his father, as the fruit of a long and laborious life, and in a few years had dissipated every sixpence of it, in enterprizes and speculations of the most extravagant description.

One benefit of Phrenology, to those who make a practical use of it, is to enable them to discriminate between a man's hopes and his real capacities. They are aware, when they see considerable deficiency in the organs of Intellect, or in those of Cautiousness, Conscientiousness and Firmness, that whatever promises the individual may make, or however sincere his own intentions of being prosperous may be, yet that if he involve himself in a multitude of affairs, beyond the reach of his intellectual powers, failure will be inevitable; and they act accordingly. I have repeatedly urged individuals to abstain from assisting characters of this description to extend their speculations, and advised them to reserve their funds for emergencies of a different description, which were certain to arise; and at the distance of a few years, after the advice had been forgotten by me, they have returned and thanked me for the counsel. Such speculative men generally fall into great destitution in the end; and my recommendation to their relatives has uniformly been, to reserve their means, with the view of saving them from abject poverty, when their schemes shall have reached their natural termination in ruin; and this has been found to be prudent advice.

As a general rule, therefore, I would dissuade you from undertaking suretyship merely to increase the quantity, or accelerate the march of prosperity, if your friend, by the aid of time, prudence and economy, may ultimately command success by his own resources.

The last rule in regard to suretyship which I shall state is, that in becoming bound for the good conduct of an individual in a new employment, you should be well aware that the situation into which you are about to introduce him, is one suited to his natural dispositions and capacities, and not one calculated to bring the weaker elements of his character into play, and be the means of ruining him, as well as injuring yourself. Suppose, for example, that a young man has any latent seeds of the love of intemperance, or even great conviviality, in his constitution, or that he is fond of a wandering and unsettled life, and that, by becoming surety for his good conduct and intromissions, you get him employed as a mercantile travelling agent, you manifestly expose him to temptations which may completely upset his virtue. I have known individuals, who, in more favorable circumstances, had acquired and maintained excellent characters, ruined by this change. Again—If an individual be either extremely good natured, so much so that he cannot resist solicitation; or if he be extremely ambitious and fond of power; or very speculative; if you aid him in obtaining an agency for a bank, in which he will obtain an immediate command of large sums of money, and be thereby exposed to solicitation, or tempted to indulge in magnificence, or speculate on his own account, for all of which the command of money presents many facilities, you may bring him to ruin, when you intended to do him a great service. It has been remarked, that more men prove unsuccessful as bank agents, than almost in any other office of trust; and the reason appears to me to be, that the free command of money presents greater temptations to the weak points of character than almost any other external circumstance. For this reason, it is only men of the highest natural moral qualities, who should

be appointed to such situations; individuals whose integrity and love of justice and duty are their strongest feelings; and then, with average intellectual endowments, their conduct will be irreproachable. It is clear, that until we possess an index to natural talents and dispositions, that can be relied on in practice, much disappointment, loss, and misery, must inevitably be sustained, by the improper location or employment of individuals, in the complicated relations of society; and if Phrenology promise to aid us in arriving at this object, it is worthy of our most serious consideration.

Another social duty, which men are occasionally called on to discharge, is that of acting privately as *arbitrators* between disputing parties, or publicly as jurymen. According to the present practice, no particular preparation for these duties is supposed to be necessary. A young man may have obtained any kind of education, or no education; he may possess any degree of intelligence and talent, or none of either; and he may be upright in his dispositions, or very much the reverse; yet none of these things are of the least consideration, in regard to his qualification to serve as a juror; but as soon as he is found inhabiting a house, or possessing a shop, or a farm, of a certain rent, his name is placed on the list of jurors; he is summoned, in his turn, to sit on the bench of justice, and there he disposes, by his vote, of the lives and fortunes of his fellowmen. The defence maintained for this system is, that as twelve individuals are selected in civil cases, and fifteen in criminal, the verdict will embody the average intelligence and morality of the whole; and that, as the roll of jurors includes all the higher and middle ranks, their decisions, if not absolutely perfect, will, on the whole, be the best that can be obtained. This

apology is, to some extent, well founded; and the superior intelligence of a few, frequently guides a vast amount of ignorance and dullness in a jury. Still, the extent of this ignorance and inaptitude is a great evil; and as it is susceptible of removal, it should not be permitted to continue. All of you who have served as jurors, must be aware of the great disadvantages under which individuals labor in that situation, from want of original education, as well as from the want of the practice of mental application. I knew an instance in which a jury, in a civil cause which embraced a long series of transactions, of bills, purchases, sales, excise entries, permits, and other technical formalities, was composed of four Edinburgh traders, and of eight men ballotted from the county of Edinburgh, where it borders on Lanarkshire and Peeblesshire; men who occupied small farms, who held the plough and drove their own carts; persons of undoubted respectability and intelligence in their own sphere, but who knew nothing of mercantile affairs; whose education and habits rendered them totally incapable of taking notes of the evidence, and of course, of forming any judgment for themselves. When the jury retired, at 10 o'clock at night, after a trial of 12 hours, one of the merchants was chosen foreman, and he asked the opinion of his brethren in succession. Eight of them echoed the charge of the presiding judge; but the other three announced a contrary opinion. The jurors from the country, seeing that the merchants were all on one side, in opposition to them, acknowledged that the details of the case had extended far beyond their capacity of comprehension; that they really could form no judgment on the question; and, therefore, concluded that it was safest to follow the judge. The minority differed from the judge; they took great pains in explaining,

from their own notes, the leading circumstances to the majority, and succeeded in bringing them round to their opinion; and the result was, a verdict of a totally opposite description from that at first proposed. I obtained this information, the day after the trial, from one of those who had stood in the minority. The verdict was right, and no attempt was made to disturb it by the party who lost his cause.

The majority here were not to blame; they had been called on to discharge a public duty for which they were totally unprepared, and they did their best to attain the ends of justice. But what I humbly submit to your consideration is, that as the ordinary members of the community are called on to exercise the very important office of jurors, and may become the instruments of taking away the life or property of their fellow-men, their education should be so conducted as to qualify them, to a reasonable extent, for discharging so grave a duty. If we were accustomed to look on our social duties as equally important with our private interests, instruction calculated to qualify us to comprehend questions of private right and public criminality, would undoubtedly form a branch of our youthful training. It has sometimes occurred to me, that it would be highly useful to confer certificates, or degrees of qualification, on young men, founded on an examination into their educational attainments, and that these should be indispensable to their being placed on the roll of jurors, or even of voters, and also to their exercising any public office of trust, honor, or emolument. The effects of such a regulation would probably be, that it would be considered disgraceful to want that qualification; that parents would strain every nerve to obtain it for their children; and that men who were the architects of their own fortunes, would begin by pursuing such

studies as would enable them to acquire it. The standard of education is still very low, even in Scotland; but in England it is much more so. I knew an Englishman who had acquired a fortune exceeding £70, 000, whose whole educational acquirements consisted in reading and the ability to subscribe his own name. He was, as you may suppose, a man of great natural talent. He travelled with a clerk, who conducted his correspondence, drew his bills, kept his books, and supplied the want of original education, as far as this could be done; but he strongly felt the extent of his own defects. His affairs required such constant active exertion, that he had found it impossible, after he had entered into business, to educate himself; and he was so far advanced in life when I conversed with him, that he had then no hopes of going to school.

Analogous to the duty of jurors, is that of acting as arbitrator between individuals who have differences which they cannot amicably settle. This being altogether a voluntary duty, it may be supposed that those only who are well known to be qualified for it, will be called on to discharge it: But the reverse is too often the case. Individuals who are themselves ignorant of the nature of an arbitrator's duties, are no judges of what qualifies another person to discharge them, and often make most preposterous selections. It is indeed a very common opinion, that the referee is the advocate of the party who nominates him, and that his duty consists in getting as many advantages for his friend as possible. Hence, in anticipation of disagreement, power is given to the two referees, in case of difference in opinion, to choose a third, whose award shall be final; and not unfrequently this *oversman*, as he is called in Scotland, halves the points of difference between the two discordant arbitrators, and assumes that this must be absolute justice.

It is a favorite maxim with persons not conversant with law, that all disputes are best settled by a reference to "honest men judging according to equity." I have never been blind to the imperfections of law and of legal decisions; but I must be permitted to say that I have seen the worst of them far surpassed in absurdity and error, by the decisions of honest men judging according to equity. If any of you have ever acted as an arbitrator, he must have found that the first difficulty that presented itself to his understanding was the wide difference between the contending parties, regarding matters of fact. The law solves this difficulty, by requiring evidence, and by establishing rules for determining what evidence shall be sufficient. Honest men, in general, hold themselves to be quite capable of discovering, by the intuitive sagacity of their own judgment, which statement is true, and which false, without any evidence whatever, or at least, by the aid of a very lame probation. The next difficulty which an arbitrator experiences is, to discover a principle in reason, by which to regulate his judgment, so that impartial men may be capable of perceiving why he decides as he does, and that the parties themselves may see that justice has been done to them. In courts of law, certain rules, which have been derived from a comprehensive survey of human affairs, and much experience, are taken as the guides of the understanding in such circumstances. These are called rules or principles of law. They do not always possess the characteristics of wisdom which I have here described, nor are they always successfully applied; but the objects aimed at, both in framing and applying them, are unquestionably truth and justice. Yet honest men, judging according to equity, too frequently treat all such rules with contempt, assume their own feelings to be better guides,

and conceive that they have dispensed absolute justice, when they have followed the dictates of their own understandings, unenlightened, inexperienced, and sometimes swayed by many prejudices. I recollect a decision of this kind, which astonished both parties. A trader in Edinburgh had ordered a cargo of goods from Liverpool, according to a description clearly given in a letter. They were sent, and invoiced according to the description. When they arrived, it was discovered that they were greatly inferior, and even some of the articles different in kind from what were ordered; and also that they were faded, and on the point of perishing through decay. The purchaser refused to receive them; the seller insisted; and the question was referred to an honest man. He decided that the goods were not conformable to the order given, and that the purchaser was not bound to receive them; but he nevertheless condemned the purchaser to pay the freight from Liverpool, and all the expenses of the arbitration; and assigned as his reasons for doing so, that he, the arbitrator, was not bound by rules of law, but was entitled to act according to equity; that the seller would sustain an enormous loss, by disposing of the cargo at Leith for what it would bring; that the purchaser had escaped a ruinous loss, by being allowed to reject it; and that, therefore, it was very equitable that the purchaser should bear a little of the seller's burden; and that the freight and costs formed a very moderate portion of the evil to be sustained by him. He added, that it would teach the purchaser not to order whole cargos again, which he thought was going beyond the limits of his trade; besides, it was a very dangerous thing for any man to order a whole cargo, especially when he had not seen the goods before they were shipped.

Perhaps some persons may be found, to whom this may appear to be a very just judgment; but to every one acquainted with the principles of trade, and who perceives that the seller's bad faith, or unbusiness-like error, was the sole cause of the evil, it must appear, at best, as a well intended absurdity, if not a downright iniquity.

I know another case, in which the arbitrator found himself much puzzled, and resorted to this method of solving the difficulty: He called the two parties, Mr. A. and Mr. B., to meet him in a tavern, and placed them in separate rooms. He then went to Mr. A., and told him that he had seriously read all the papers, and considered the case, and had come to the conclusion that he, Mr. A., was entirely in the wrong, and that he meant to decide against him, and had called him and Mr. B. to meet him, to try if it were possible to negotiate a compromise between them, to save him from the disagreeable necessity of pronouncing such a decision. He concluded by asking Mr. A. what was the largest sum that he would voluntarily offer, to avoid the impending decision. Mr. A., after expressing his surprise and disappointment, and arguing his case anew, which argument was heard patiently, and pronounced to be unsatisfactory, at last named a sum. The arbitrator proceeded to the room in which Mr. B. was waiting, and told him that he had studied the case, &c., and was extremely sorry that he regarded *him* as completely in the wrong, and meant to decide against him; but as he had a regard for him, he begged to know the smallest sum which he was willing to accept of, if Mr. A. could be induced to offer it, as an amicable compromise, to save him the pain of pronouncing such a judgment. Mr. B. argued, and was listened to; his arguments were repelled, and he was again solicited to name a sum, under pain

of having a decision immediately pronounced, which would deprive him of all. He at last named a sum. There was a wide difference between the sums named; but the referee was not to be defeated; he went backward and forward between them, constantly threatening each in turn with his adverse decision, till he forced the one up and beat the other down, so that they at last met; and then, keeping them still apart, he caused each of them to subscribe a binding letter of compromise. This accomplished, he introduced them to each other, and boasted of the *equity* of his mode of settling the dispute.

One practical remark which I beg leave to offer on the subject is, that the education of lawyers should embrace more instruction in the business affairs of the world than it does, and that the education of practical men should include some information concerning those great principles of law which have been found, in an extensive series of instances, to lead most successfully to justice. In this way, the lawyer would be better guided, by the knowledge of business, both in framing and applying his legal rules, while the mercantile arbitrator would enjoy the advantage of profounder principles to assist his judgment; and a purer administration of justice by both public and private tribunals would probably be the beneficial result.

LECTURE XVI.

GOVERNMENT.

Various opinions have been entertained by philosophers regarding the origin of government. Some have viewed it as an extension of the parental authority instituted by nature; others as founded on a compact, by which the subjects surrendered part of their natural liberty to their rulers, and obtained in return an obligation for protection, and the administration of just laws for the public benefit. Some have assigned to it a divine origin, and held that kings and rulers, of every rank, are the delegates of heaven, and have a title to exercise dominion, altogether independently of the will of their subjects. None of these views appears to me to reach the truth. In the human mind, as disclosed to us by Phrenology, we find social instincts, the activity of which leads man to congregate in society. We discover, also, organs of Veneration, giving the tendency to look up with respect to superior power, to bow before it, and to obey it. There are also organs of Self-Esteem, prompting men to assume authority, to wield it, and to exact obedience. Government seems to me to spring from the spontaneous activity of these faculties, without any special design or intention on the part either of governors or of subjects. In rude ages, in-

dividuals possessing large brains, (which give force of character,) active temperaments, and large organs of Self-Esteem and Love of Approbation, would naturally assume superiority, and instinctively command. Men with smaller brains, less mental energy, and considerable Veneration, would as instinctively obey, and hence government would begin.

This is still seen among children; for in their enterprizes these have leaders, whom they follow and obey, on account of some such qualifications as those now enumerated. A good illustration of this occurs in the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin. The force of character arising from his large brain, and his fertility in expedients, made him a ruler in childhood as well as in mature age. "Residing near the water," says he, "I was much in it and on it. I learned to swim well, and to manage boats; and when embarked with other boys, I was commonly allowed to govern, especially in any case of difficulty; and upon other occasions I was generally the leader of the boys."

In proportion as the moral and intellectual faculties develope themselves in the tribe or nation, there is a tendency to define and set limits to the power of the rulers, and to ascertain and enlarge the boundaries of the liberties of the subjects. External circumstances also modify the character of the government. If surrounded by powerful and ambitious neighbors, the subjects of a particular state forego many individual advantages, for the sake of the higher security which they derive from placing the whole power of the nation in the hands of a single individual. They prefer a despotism, because it enables the executive government to concentrate and propel the whole physical force of the kingdom against an invading enemy. In other circumstances, where local situation, such as that of England, or that of the United States of North Ameri-

ca, exposes the national independence to few dangers, the subjects, in proportion to their moral and intellectual advancement, naturally limit the power of their sovereigns. Hence, I regard the actual government of any particular country to have arisen from the following causes :

First—The size and particular combination of the organs in the brains of the people.

Secondly—The temperament of the people.

Thirdly—The soil and climate of the nation.

Fourthly—The character and condition of the nations with whom they are geographically in contact. And,

Lastly—The extent of moral and intellectual cultivation which the people have undergone.

Rationally viewed, government is the delegation to one or a few individuals of the power and authority of the nation, to be employed for the general good; and the only moral foundation for it is the general consent of the people. There may be conquest, and masters and slaves; but this form of government is the result of force triumphing over morality; and one duty, incumbent on the people in such a state of things, is, to overthrow the victor's dominion as speedily as possible. Rulers and subjects are all equally men, and equally placed under the divine laws, whether written in our nature or in scripture; and as these proclaim the obligation on each of us to do to others as we would have them to do unto us, and to love our neighbors as ourselves, the notion of *right* in any one man or class of men to rule, for their own pleasure or advantage, over their neighbors, against the inclination and contrary to the welfare of the parties governed, is utterly excluded. The only government which the moral and intellectual faculties can recognize, as founded in nature, is one that is exercised directly

for the benefit of the subjects. The idea that kings, princes, and nobles, viewed as individual human beings, have rights of property in the homage, services, and devotion of other men, which they are entitled to exact for their own benefit and gratification, whether agreeable to the will of the subjects or not, appears to me to be preposterous in the extreme. It is an example of the selfish system carried to infatuation, in which individual rights become an overwhelming idea, and obliterate all moral and intellectual perceptions, inconsistent with themselves, from the mind. The Bourbons pretended to have divine right of this kind to govern France; and when Louis XVIII was restored, by the victorious arms of the sovereigns of Europe, he, out of his mere grace, issued a charter, conferring a certain extent of freedom on the French nation. After the revolution of July, 1830, when Charles X was driven from the throne, the French abjured the principle, and to prevent its recurrence, insisted that Louis Philippe should be styled the King, not of France, but of the *French;* that is, chosen by the French people to rule over them.

The idea that government is instituted and maintained exclusively for the welfare of the people, does not, however, imply that each individual is authorized to resist it, whenever he conceives that it is injurious to his particular interests, or disagreeable to his taste. The social law of our nature, out of which government springs, binds us together for good and also for evil. I have endeavored to shew that we cannot attain to the full gratification of our own desires, even although enlightened and reasonable, unless we can persuade our neighbors, or our social circle, to adopt the same movements with ourselves. If we attempt to advance alone, even to good, we shall find ourselves situated like a soldier on a march, who should move

faster or slower than his column. He would be instantly jostled out of the ranks, and compelled to walk by himself. The same result occurs in regard to individual attempts to arrest or improve a government. The first step, in a rational and moral course of action, is to convince our fellow-men of the evils which we wish to have removed, and to engage their co-operation in obtaining a remedy; and until this be done, to continue to obey. As soon as the evil is generally perceived, and a desire for its removal pervades the public mind, the amendment becomes easy of accomplishment. By the social law, the individual or individuals who attempt changes, however beneficial, on public institutions, without this preparation of the general mind, encounter all the hazards of being swept into perdition, by the mere force of ancient prejudices and superstitions, even although these may have their root entirely in ignorance, and may be disavowed by reason. The principles of Phrenology are excellent guides; they teach us that the propensities and sentiments are mere blind instincts, and that they often cling to objects to which they have been long devoted, independently of reason. They shew us that when we desire to change their direction, we must do much more than simply convince the understanding. We must, by quiet and gradual efforts, loosen the attachment of the feelings to the injurious objects, and by soothing and persuasion, gradually incline them to the new and better principles which we desire them to embrace.

There is the soundest wisdom in this arrangement of Providence, by which political improvement is slow and gradual; because, in the very nature of things, pure moral institutions cannot flourish and produce their legitimate fruits, unless the people for whom they are intended possess moral and intellectual qual-

ities corresponding with them. This fact will become abundantly evident, when we trace the progress of government a little in detail.

The first requisite towards the formation of a government by a nation, is, that it be *independent* of a foreign yoke. If it do not possess independence, the people must of necessity submit to the will of their foreign master, who generally rules them according to narrow views of his own advantage, without the least regard to *their* feelings or welfare.

Great confusion prevails in the minds of many persons, regarding the words *liberty* and *independence*, when applied to nations. A nation is *independent*, when it does not owe submission to any foreign power. Thus, France and Spain, under the Bourbon dynasties, before the French revolution, were both independent; they owned no superior; but they were not free; the people did not enjoy liberty; that is to say, their internal government was despotic; the personal liberty, lives, and fortunes of the subjects were placed at the uncontrolled disposal of the sovereign. No foreign potentate dared to insult, or oppress a Frenchman with impunity; because he would have been chastised by the French government, which was independent and powerful, and which made it a point of honor to protect all its own subjects from foreign aggression;—for permitting this, would have implied its own imbecility or dependence. But a Frenchman enjoyed no protection from the arbitrary and unjust acts of his own government at home. The kings were in the practice of issuing "Lettres de cachet," or warrants for the secret imprisonment of any individual, for an indefinite period, without trial, without even specifying his offence, and without allowing him to communicate with any power or person, for his protection or vindication. There was no restraint against the

murder of the victim, when so imprisoned; so that life was as insecure as liberty.

Under that sway, the French nation was independent, but the people were not free. They are now both independent and free; for no foreign nation rules over them, and they, as individuals, are protected by the law from all arbitrary interference with their private rights by their own government. The inhabitants of Britain have long enjoyed both advantages.

England has been independent since the Romans left the country; for although conquered by the Normans, in the year 1066, the conquerors fixed their residence in the vanquished territory, made it their home, and in a few generations became completely amalgamated with the native population; but England was not properly free till after the revolution in 1688. The Scottish and Irish nations now form, along with England, one empire, which is independent, and all the people are free. That is, the nation owns no superior on earth, and every individual is protected by the laws, in his person, his property, and privileges, not only against the aggressions of his neighbors, but against the government itself. The only obligation incumbent on the subject towards the state is to obey the laws, and when he has done so, the rulers have no power over him whatever for evil.

The history of the world shews that some nations live habitually under subjection to foreign powers; that other nations are independent, but not free; while a few, a very few indeed, enjoy at once the blessings of independence and liberty. It may be advantageous to investigate the causes of these different phenomena.

The social duties which we owe to government are extremely important; yet we cannot comprehend them aright, without understanding thoroughly the subject

of government itself, and the relations of the different kinds of it to the human faculties. On this account, the brief exposition which I propose to give of this subject, is not foreign to the grand question of our moral duty.

To secure and maintain national independence, the first requisite in the people appears to be adequate size of brain. You are well acquainted with the phrenological principle, that size of brain, other conditions being equal, is the measure of mental power. Now, all experience shews, that wherever a people possessing small brains have been invaded by one possessing large brains, they have fallen prostrate before them. The Peruvians, Mexicans, and Hindoos, have uniformly been deprived of their independence when invaded by European nations, whose brains are larger. On the contrary, wherever the invaded people have possessed brains larger, or as large as their assailants, and also the second requisite for independence, which I shall immediately mention, they have successfully resisted. The Charibs, Auracanians, Caffres, and others, are examples of barbarian tribes, with large brains, successfully resisting the efforts of Europeans to enslave them.* The blessing

* The first phrenological elucidation of the causes of the INDEPENDENCE and LIBERTY of nations was given by Mr. George Lyon, of Edinburgh, in several able Essays published in the second and third volumes of the Phrenological Journal in 1825 and 1826. The evidence of the soundness of the principles then advanced, afforded by the specimens of the skulls of nations and tribes which have uniformly been conquered by European invaders, as well as of those of tribes that have successfully resisted these invaders, contained in the collection of the Phrenological Society at Edinburgh, is very strong. It has received a great accession of strength from the work of Dr. Morton of Philadelphia, on "*the crania Americana.*" Dr. Pritchard, in the Natural History Section of the British Association, at a meeting held on the 29th August, 1839, brought forward a paper on the extermination of various uncivilized races of mankind, and recommended a grant of money for assisting his investigations

of independence to a nation is invaluable, and these examples ought to operate as strong motives to the observance of the organic laws, in order to prevent deterioration and diminution of the brain in a nation, and to avoid mental imbecility, which is their invariable accompaniment. In Spain the aristocratic class had long been guilty of the neglect of those laws, and in the beginning of the present century her nobles and king were sunk into such effeminacy, that they became the easy prey and puppets of the men of energetic brains, who then swayed the destinies of France; and it was only when the great body of the people, who were not so corrupted and debased, felt themselves insulted and oppressed, by the French dominion, that they put forth their energies to recover their independence, and that, with the aid of Britain, the foreign yoke was removed.

The second requisite to independence is, that the people shall possess so much intelligence and love of their country, as to be capable of acting in concert, and of sacrificing, when necessary, their individual interests to the public welfare. You can easily understand that, however energetic the individuals of a nation may be, if they should be so deficient in intelligence as to be incapable of joining in a general plan of defence, they must necessarily fall before a body

into their habits and history. He proceeded, apparently, without having read the writings of Phrenologists on the subject, and certainly without having examined the evidence on it contained in the Phrenological Museum. Indeed, in answer to a question from Mr. H. C. Watson, he confessed that he had not examined the skulls in the Museum. Dr. Pritchard is a man of talents, but he has undertaken a difficult task, to elucidate the natural history of man, with a determined resolution to shut his eyes against the most important discovery that has ever been made in this branch of science: Let him proceed. Phrenology can stand against his misrepresentations and neglect; and a few years will show whether his reputation can equally prosper in opposition to its evidence and importance.

of invaders who obey a skilful leader, and act in masses under a combined impulse. This was the case with the Charibs. Their brains, particularly in Combativeness and Destructiveness, were so large, that individually, they possessed great energy, and could not be subdued; but their reflecting organs were so deficient, that they were incapable of co-operating in a general system of defence. The consequence was, that as individuals, they resisted to the last, while, through want of intellectual capacity, they could not combine for their mutual support. Their courage was unavailing; they were exterminated in detail, although never subdued. The Auracanians, possessed equally large propensities, but greatly larger intellectual organs. They were capable of combination; they acted in concert, and *preserved* their independence.

The great body of the people must also be prepared to sacrifice when necessary, their individual, to the public interests, before independence can be maintained. The connection between national independence and individual interest is so palpable and so speedily felt, that a very small portion of moral sentiment suffices to render men capable of this devotion. Indeed, if Combativeness and Destructiveness, which delight in war,—and Self-Esteem, Firmness, and Love of Approbation, which hate obedience, and rejoice in self-glorification,—be large, these combined with intellect, are sufficient to secure independence. It is only when selfishness has become the predominant feeling of the people, combined with deficiency or want of exercise in Self-Esteem, Love of Approbation and Combativeness, that they prefer their individual comforts and property, even under the galling yoke of a foreign foe, to national independence.

These facts in the natural history of nations were

unknown until Phrenology brought them to light. Formerly, all differences between different tribes of people were accounted for by difference of climate, education and institutions; but we now see that development of brain is fundamental, and is the chief cause, not only of the differences of disposition and talent, but of the different institutions of each nation also. Climate certainly does operate on the mind, but it is only through the nerves and brain that it *can* do so; and hence, a knowledge of the influence of the brain is the basis of all sound philosophy respecting the independence of nations.

The last and best condition of a nation is when it is not only independent, but free; that is, when it owns no master abroad, and when each inhabitant acknowledges no master at home, except the laws, or magistrates, who are subject to the laws, and merely their interpreters and administrators.

Before a people can attain to this form of government, they must possess not only the qualities requisite for independence, but far higher moral and intellectual gifts than mere independence demands. The love of justice must have become so prevalent, that no individual or limited number of individuals can muster followers sufficient to place himself or themselves in the condition of lord or masters over all the rest. The community in general must be enlightened to that degree, that they will perceive the inevitable tendency of individuals to abuse power, when they possess it without control, and they must have so much of devotion to the general interests as to feel disposed, by a general movement, to oppose, and put an end to all attempts at acquiring such dominion; otherwise the nation cannot enjoy liberty. They must, also, as individuals, be in general moderate, virtuous, and just, in their own ambition; ready to

yield to others, all the political enjoyments and advantages which they claim for themselves.

History confirms these principles. The original European settlers of North America were English families, who had left their country under religious or political persecution; and their numbers were recruited by industrious individuals, who emigrated to that land with a view to improving their condition by the exercise of industry and talents. When they threw off the yoke of Britain, they were a moral and an intelligent people;—they instituted the American republic, the freest government on earth, and which has flourished in vigor to the present day.

The continent of South America was peopled at first by ruffian warriors, and avaricious adventurers, who waded through oceans of blood to dominion over the natives, and who practised cruelty, oppression and spoliation, but not industry, as their means of acquiring wealth. Their numbers were maintained by a succession of men animated by the same motives, and possessing essentially the same characteristics, sent out by the corrupted government of old Spain, to a harvest of spoil. They were not the amiable, the religious, and the laborious of the Spanish soil, driven away by oppression, hating injustice, and flying to a new country for refuge from it, as in North America. The troubles of the mother country tempted these South American colonists at last to disclaim the Spanish authority; and they waged a long, a cruel, and a bloody war, for their independence; in which they were at last successful. They then, in imitation of the North Americans, instituted freedom among themselves; they established republics, and a government by laws: But mark the result. The cruel, base, self-seeking, dishonest, vain, and ambitious propensities, which had

distinguished them as Spanish colonists, did not instantly leave them when they proclaimed themselves to be free citizens of independent republics. On the contrary, these feelings which had long existed in them, operated with fearful energy. As private individuals, the new republicans devoted themselves to evading payment of all government taxes and duties; their import duties on foreign commodities were converted into means of enriching public functionaries entrusted with their collection—and of practising oppression on rival politicians and traders. Their public couriers were robbed: in their Senates, they formed themselves into cabals for the promotion of some project of individual or local advantage or ambition; and when not successful, they obstructed all measures for the general advantage, and often appealed to arms to settle their disputes. The consequence has been, that owing solely to the ignorance, the selfishness, and the absence of general morality, and love of justice in the people, these states, with the richest soils, and finest climates in the world, with independence, and with the most improved forms of domestic government, have exhibited almost one unvaried scene of revolution, blood-shed, and contention, since they acquired their liberty. This is the penalty which Providence ordains them to pay for their parents' transgressions, and for the immoral dispositions which they have inherited from them.

As a contrast to them, the history of the Swiss and the Dutch may be alluded to. Both of these people have large brains, and an ample development of both the moral and intellectual organs. The Swiss were early distinguished by the simplicity of their manners, and their moral devotion and determination; while Holland was peopled from various countries by individuals flying, like the British Americans, from civil

or religious persecution. The Swiss had been free from time immemorial, says Russell, although their *independence* dates from 1308.

"Till the reign of Albert I." says Mr. G. Lyon,* "the Emperor of Germany had respected the rights and privileges of the Swiss. *Rodolph*, in particular, the father of Albert, had always treated them with great indulgence, and had, generously, assisted them in defending their liberties against the noblemen who attempted to infringe them. But Albert aimed to govern the Swiss as an absolute sovereign, and had formed a scheme for creating their country into a principality for one of his sons. Having failed in his attempts to induce them to submit voluntarily to his dominion, he resolved to tame them by rougher methods, and appointed governors, who domineered over them in the most arbitrary manner." "The tyranny of these governors," says Russell, "exceeded all belief. The governor of Uri, ordered his hat to be fixed upon a pole in the market-place, to which every passenger was commanded to pay obeisance on pain of death;—the sequel was, that the illustrious William Tell nobly dared to disobey this imperious command. This example determined Melchtat of Underwalden, Straffacher of Schweitz, and Furtz of Uri, to put in execution the measures they had concerted for the delivery of their country. And here we perceive the power of combination which a people possess who act under the influence of the higher sentiments. The whole inhabitants of the several cantons, we are told, were secretly prepared for a general revolt, and the design, which was resolved upon on the 17th Sept. 1307, was executed on the 1st of January, 1308." "On that day," says Coxe, "*the whole people rose as with one accord*, to defy the power of the house of

* Phrenological Journal, Volume III. p. 247.

Austria, and of the head of the empire. They surprized and siezed the Austrian governors, and with a moderation unexampled in the history of the world, they conducted them to the frontiers, obliged them to promise on oath, never more to serve against the Helvetic nation, peaceably dismissed them, and thus accomplished their important enterprize, without the loss of a single life.

The Austrians soon invaded the country in great force, and the people were called on to sacrifice life and property in defence of their liberties. "Never did any people," observes Russell, "fight with greater spirit for their liberty, than the Swiss. They purchased it by above fifty battles against the Austrians, and they well deserved the prize for which they fought; for never were the beneficial effects of liberty more remarkable than in Switzerland." "In the meantime," continues Mr. Lyon, "I shall confine myself to a few insulated traits of character, indicating in an eminent degree, the possession of the higher sentiments, which we have all along predicated to be necessary to the acquisition and enjoyment of freedom. The first I shall notice is their conduct in regard to the assassins of Albert, the great enemy of their liberties, who, at the very moment when he was on his march to invade the country with a powerful force, was assassinated by his nephew, with the assistance of four confidential adherents. After the deed was committed, they escaped into the cantons of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, not unnaturally expecting to find an asylum among a people whom Albert was preparing unjustly to invade." "But the generous natives," says Coxe, "detesting so atrocious a deed, though committed on their inveterate enemy, refused to protect the murderers, who all subsequently suffered the punishment due to their crime."

"The celebrated battle of Morgarten, in which for the first time, the Swiss encountered and defeated the whole force of Austria, affords another striking example of the manner in which self-devotion contributes to the establishment of independence. Leopold assembled 20,000 men, to trample, as he said, the audacious rustics under his feet; but the Swiss beheld the gathering storm without dismay. To meet it, and to dissipate it, 1400 men, the flower of their youth, grasped their arms, and assembled at the town of Schweitz. *Veneration*, and all the higher sentiments were manifested, when they proclaimed a solemn fast, passed the day in religious exercises, and chanting hymns, and kneeling down in the open air, implored 'the God of heaven and earth to listen to their lowly prayers, and humble the pride of their enemies.' They took post on the heights of Morgarten, and waited the approach of the enemy. If ever there were circumstances in which they might have relaxed their rigid virtue, it was at the time when their liberties and their very existence were at stake; but even at this moment, they disdained to recruit their ranks from those whose lives had been sullied by the violation of the laws. The petition of fifty outlaws, that they might be permitted to share the dangers of the day with their countrymen, was, therefore, unhesitatingly rejected. The victory was complete. Besides those who fell in the battle, not less than fifteen hundred, most of whom were nobles or knights, were slain in the rout; and Leopold himself with difficulty escaped, under the guidance of a peasant to Winterthur, where he arrived in the evening, gloomy, exhausted, and dismayed. A solemn fast was decreed to be held, in commemoration of the day, 'in which the God of hosts had visited his people, and given them the victory over their enemies;'

and the names and heroic deeds of those champions who had fallen in defence of their country, were ordered to be annually recited to the people." Phrenological Journal Vol. III. p. 247-8-9.

The history of the Dutch is somewhat similar; although not so full of noble generosity. They resisted by force of arms, and at the expense of the greatest sufferings and sacrifices, the tyranny of Spain, for the sake of liberty of conscience; and at last established at once their independence and freedom, and both they and the Swiss continue to enjoy these advantages to the present day. How unlike was the individual character of the British Americans, the Swiss and the Dutch, to that of the Spanish Americans; and how different the uses which they have made of their independence when obtained! The last illustration with which I shall trouble you, in proof that freedom cannot exist without intelligence and morality in the people, is afforded by Sicily.

"It is well known," says Mr. Geo. Lyon,* "that during the course of the late war, the island of Sicily was taken possession of by Great Britain; and, with a magnanimity peculiarly her own, she resolved to bestow on her new ally that form of government, and those laws, under which she herself had attained to such a pitch of prosperity and glory. Whether the zeal thus manifested to the Sicilians was a zeal according to knowledge, will immediately appear; but there can be no doubt that the gift was generously, freely, and honestly bestowed. The Sicilian government was, therefore, formed exactly after the model of the British. The legislative, executive, and judicial powers were separated; vesting the first in a parliament composed of lords and commons; the sec-

* Phrenological Journal, Vov. II., p. 607.

ond in the king and his ministers; the last in independent judges. Due limits were set to the prerogative, by not permitting the sovereign to take cognizance of bills in progress, or to interfere in any way with the freedom of debate, or the purity of election; the peerage was rendered respectable by making titles unalienable, and strictly hereditary; and by forbidding the elevation to the peerage of such as were not already in possession of a fief to which a title had belonged, and whose annual income was not 6000 ounces of silver;" (of the value of 12*s*.6 sterling to the ounce,) or £3950 a year. "Due weight was assigned to the commons, by fixing the qualifications of members for districts at 300 ounces, (or £187,10*s*. sterling) per annum, and of members for town, at half that sum,—an exception being made in favor of professors of universities, whose learning was accepted in lieu of house and land; and, lastly, that the electors should be possessed of property to the amount of 18 ounces, or £11,5*s*. and (which was most important of all) the right of originating every tax, was reserved to the commons alone."

Such is the outline of the Constitution, given to Sicily by the British, and the result of this experiment, is contained in the following quotation from travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania, by the Rev. Mr. Hughes:—

"No words," says he, "can describe the scenes which daily occurred upon the introduction of the representative system in Sicily. The House of Parliament, neither moderated by discretion, nor conducted with dignity, bore the resemblance of a receptacle for lunatics, instead of a council-room for legislators; and the disgraceful scenes, so often enacted at the hustings in England, were here transferred to the *very floor of the Senate*. As soon as the president

had proposed the subject for debate, and restored some degree of order from the confusion of tongues which followed, a system of crimination, and recrimination invariably commenced by several speakers, accompanied with such furious gesticulations, and hideous distortion of countenance, such bitter taunts, and personal invectives, that blows generally ensued. This was the signal for universal uproar. The president's voice was unheeded and unheard; the whole house arose, partizans of different antagonists mingled in the affray, when the ground was literally covered with combatants, kicking, biting, scratching, and exhibiting all the evolutions of the old pancratic contests. Such a state of things could not be expected to last a long time; indeed, this constitutional synod was dissolved in the very first year of its creation, and martial law established." Mr. Hughes thus concludes: "That constitution, so beautiful in theory, which rose at once like a fairy palace, vanished also like that baseless fabric, without having left a trace of its existence." Vol. I. pp. 5, 6, and 7.

After adverting to the utter profligacy of all ranks of the people, Mr. Hughes observes, "that no one will wonder that difficulties environed those who endeavored to resuscitate the embers of a patriotism already extinct, and break the fetters of a nation who rather chose to hug them; that civil liberty was received with an hypocrisy more injurious to its cause than open enmity, and that, returning without any efforts of the people, it returned without vigor, and excited neither talent nor enthusiasm; that those amongst the higher classes who received it at all, received it like a toy, which they played with for a time, and then broke it to pieces; and that the populace, having penetration sufficient to discover the weakness of their rulers, were clamorous for the English au-

thorities to dissolve the whole constitution, and take the power into their own hands." Vol. I. p. 13.

"In this instance, the institution of a representative assembly, in which unlimited freedom of debate was permitted, instead of giving rise to those calm, temperate, and dignified discussions, which characterize the British House of Commons, was only the signal and the scene for confusion and uproar, where Combativeness, Destructiveness, and Self-Esteem, reigned supreme, uncontrolled by Benevolence, Veneration, or Conscientiousness; and like wayward children, whom an indulgent father has for a time left to their own government, to convince them, perhaps, of their utter inability to guide and direct themselves, and who, finding at length, the misery of unrestrained freedom, are glad to return to his firm but parental authority, and to surrender that liberty which they had only the power to abuse; so the Sicilians, not only voluntarily, but even clamorously, required that their liberty should be taken from them, and begged for the establishment of martial law as a boon."—Phren. Jour. Vol. II. p. 609.

From these examples and illustrations, I trust that you are now able to distinguish between the *independence*, and the *freedom* of a nation, and are prepared to agree with me in opinion, that there can be no real freedom without prevalent intelligence and morality, among the body of the people.

LECTURE XVII.

MIXED FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

In my last Lecture I endeavored to expound the difference between the independence and the freedom of nations, and to trace the causes of each. I endeavored to shew that a higher degree of moral and intellectual attainments in the people is necessary to freedom, than to mere independence.

The next topic to which I allude is the different forms of government. Phrenology enables us to arrive at clear conceptions on this subject.

The animal organs are the largest, the most powerful, and (when man is uncultivated,) also the most active, in the brain; and all of them aim at selfish ends. As long, therefore, as any nation continues destitute of education, and not devoted to industrious pursuits calculated to exercise the moral and intellectual faculties, it consists of hordes of human beings in whom the animal propensities predominate, and who, in consequence, are ready to embark under any bold and energetic leader, in any enterprise that promises gratification to individual interests and passion, however immoral, or detrimental to the community at large. History is one great record of the truth of this remark. The only mode of preserving public tranquillity, and any semblance of law, in such a state of society, is, for one man, or a small number of indi-

viduals, superior to the rest in vigor, sagacity, and decision, to seize on the reins of government, and to rule despotically.

Men in this condition are animals possessing the human form and human intelligence, but not yet the human morality, which alone causes individuals to love justice and become a law unto themselves. If the best and wisest of men were requested to devise a government for a nation of selfish and ferocious beings, possessed of intellect sufficient to foresee consequences, but not inspired with the love of justice, he would at once say that it must be one of great power and energy, prompt to punish, and vigorous to repress; otherwise there would be no tranquillity. A despotism, therefore, appears to me to be the form of government which naturally springs up in a very rude and barbarous country, and to be the best adapted for its circumstances.

The despot rules in the full spirit of the selfish system. He punishes through caprice, as often as from just cause; and he rewards through favoritism, more frequently than from perception of real merit; but in doing so, he acts on the principles generally prevalent in his community. If he be enlightened, just, and beneficent, he may do great service to his people, by instructing and civilizing them; but as a general rule, he will be found acting like themselves, on the purely selfish principle, and obstructing their moral and intellectual improvement, whenever he discovers that their enlightenment will prove fatal to his authority.

When a nation has become partially civilized, educated, and instructed in the arts of industry, it presents the phenomena of a class whose moral and intellectual faculties have been so far developed, that they acknowledge a desire practically to pursue the

dictates of morality towards their fellow-men, and to enjoy the advantages of just government themselves; a class which would not join a leader to trample the nation at large under foot, but would rather, by their wealth and intelligence, assist the people to expel a tyrant, and establish the supremacy of equitable laws. But the number of superior men who constitute this class, live along with a vast mass of uneducated, and therefore still barbarous and selfish individuals, who compose the great body of the people. This was the condition of Great Britain, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it is partially so at this day. The kind of government adapted to a nation thus situated, is obviously one which shall combine the force and energy of the despot, necessary to repress and punish all attempts at individual supremacy and domination, and at the same time enforce order and justice, with a due regard to the general welfare, which is desired by the most enlightened class. A mixed form of government, like the British, in which great executive power is committed to the king, but in which the enlightened classes, through their representatives in Parliament, have an entire control over the enactment of laws, and also over the acts of the executive, by being entitled to vote or withhold the public supplies, is the natural result of this state of society.

The great advantage, I have said, of freedom, is, that it tends to promote the general welfare; whereas all forms of government, whether despotic, under one supreme prince, or oligarchical, under a limited number of nobles, tend to the sacrifice of the interests of the many to the advantage of the few. In all ages and countries this has been the case, and in our own mixed form of government the evil exists, to a considerable extent.

In ancient Rome, in which the patricians or nobles ruled the state, there was a law prohibiting the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians; that is, of the nobles and the people. In Rome, besides, all places of trust, power, and influence, were confined to the patricians, and a plebeian could never aspire to the honors of the consulship. In France, before the revolution, only nobles could aspire to military rank. In Hindostan, and in Roman Catholic countries, the priests prohibit the people at large from freely reading their scriptures or sacred books. In short, the genius of selfishness is every where and at all times the same; it grasps advantages for itself, and it manifests the same characteristics, whether appearing in an individual or in a class, in a political association or a religious corporation.

In a former lecture I endeavored to point out that the institution of a hereditary nobility, protected by law in the possession of political power and exclusive privileges, without regard to individual qualities and attainments, is an infringement of the natural laws, and produces evil to the community, as well as misdirection of the ambition of the parties thus exalted. I now observe, in reference to the mixed form of government, like that of Britain, that the existence of a noble or privileged class is one of its characteristic features, and is the natural result of a portion of the people having far outstript the mass in wealth, intelligence and refinement. Of course, it may be expected to endure as long as the great inequality in these particulars, on which it is founded, exists.

The mixed form of government itself obviously springs from a numerous class having considerably preceded the mass of the people in intelligence and moral attainments; and it exhibits the spectacle of this class becoming the depositaries of political power, the

upper portion exercising the function of legislators directly in their own persons, and the inferior portion enacting laws by means of their representatives, leaving no political influence whatever in the hands of the people. It is the genius of this form of government to confer privileges on classes, and hence the highest members of the ruling body easily induced the king to confer on them the character of nobility, and the right of hereditary legislation; but as the great principle of doing to another as we would wish another to do to us, leads, in its general application, to the removal of all distinctions not founded on real superiority, the existence of this class becomes, in course of time, an obstacle to general improvement. There is one principle, however, equally clearly taught, both by Christianity and by the doctrine of the supremacy of the moral sentiments,—that the only beneficial manner of producing a moral equality, is by improving and raising up the lower, and not by pulling down the higher classes, possessed of superior attainments. As long, therefore, as the class of nobles are superior in intellect, moral qualities and education, to the great body of the people, their superiority is real; and they would maintain this superiority, although they possessed neither titles nor exclusive privileges. This has long been the state of Britain, and is so, to a considerable extent, still. In a former lecture, I pointed out that hereditary rank and superiority is in opposition to nature, unless the organic laws are obeyed, and that then statutes are not needed, to transmit property and honor to posterity. Those who transmit high moral, intellectual and physical qualities to their offspring, confer on them the stamp of nature's nobility, and they need no other.

When the Creator bestowed on us Veneration, prompting us to reverence high qualities and attain-

ments, and Love of Approbation, desiring distinction for ourselves, he must have intended that these faculties, in selecting their objects, should be guided by reason, morality, and religion; yet the creation of artificial, and especially hereditary rank, which shall enable its possessor, independently of his mental qualities, to assume superiority over, and take precedence of, other men, when these become more virtuous, more learned, more useful, and more highly accomplished than himself, is in direct opposition to this maxim, and must, therefore, manifestly be an abuse. The grand argument by which it is attempted to be supported is, that by presenting objects of *established* respect and consideration to the people, you accustom them to the practice of deference and obedience, and thereby promote the tranquillity of the state. It is argued also, that by instituting a class of nobles, a branch of society is established which shall cultivate, as their especial province, taste, refinement, and all the elegancies of life, and improve the inferior members of the social body by their example. It is farther maintained, that such a class is natural, and has existed in almost all countries, and must, therefore, be advantageous. In a certain state of society, these reasons have some weight; but my position is, that when the general body of the people become enlightened, these advantages disappear, and a hereditary nobility becomes a positive evil.

I beg leave, however, to state that I do not propose to abolish hereditary and artificial rank by violence, and against the will of its possessors. The grand principle which I have advocated in these lectures, that all real improvement must proceed from the supremacy of the moral and intellectual faculties, forbids such a project. My aim, is, to render nobles ashamed of hereditary titles, decorations, and privi-

leges which testify nothing in favor of their merit; and I regard this as undoubtedly practicable, in the course of a few generations, merely by enlightning their superior faculties. If you trace the forms in which Self-Esteem, and Love of Approbation, seek gratification in different stages of social improvement, and how these approach nearer and nearer to reason, in proportion as society becomes enlightened, you will not consider this idea chimerical. In the Constitution of Man, I have remarked, that the tatooed skin, and nose transfixed with ornamental bones, are fondly desired, profoundly respected, and greatly prized by the savage. These are the external signs of his consequence, the outward symbols by which his Self-Esteem, and Love of Approbation, demand and receive the homage of inferior men. But a very limited advance in civilization, destroys the illusion. It is seen that these are mere physical ornaments, which bespeak nothing but the vanity of the wearer; they are, therefore, ridiculed and laid aside. Ascending to a more refined yet still barbarous age, you find the marks of distinction have been in our own country; first a full bottomed wig, and cocked hat, ruffles at the wrists, a laced waistcoat, and buckles in the shoes. A century ago, when a man appeared thus attired in any public assembly of the common people, place was given to his rank, and respect was paid to his dignity, as if he had been of a superior nature. But when, by the progress of enlightenment it was discovered that these outward testimonials of greatness, were the workmanship of the hands of barbers and tailors merely; men who enjoyed any real mental superiority, who were distinguished by refinement of manners, and the other qualities of a true gentleman, became ashamed of them, preferred to wear plain, yet elegant attire, and to trust to their

manners and the discrimination of the public for being recognized as of superior rank, and being treated accordingly; and they have been completely successful. A gentleman in the trappings of the year 1700, appearing in our streets now, would be regarded as insane, or as facetiously disporting himself in order to win a wager. The principle which has swept away tattooed skins, bone ornaments in the nose, full bottomed wigs, and laced waistcoats, will one day extinguish orders of knighthood, coronets, and all the other artificial means by which men at present attempt to support their claims to respect and consideration, apart from their personal qualities and virtues. They will be recognized by the wearers as well as by the public, as devices useful *only to the unworthy*. An advanced education and civilization will render men acute observers of the real elements of greatness, and profound admirers of them, but equally intolerant of tinsel impositions.

Perhaps, you do not perceive that society will have gained much, even when this change shall have been accomplished, if it shall ever take place. But I anticipate decided advantages from it. Self-Esteem, and Love of Approbation exist, and they are large and powerful organs. The feelings with which they inspire the mind, therefore, will never be extinguished; their *direction* only can be changed. When we contemplate the history of the world, and perceive what laborious, painful, and dangerous enterprises, men have undertaken and accomplished; and what privations and positive sufferings they have submitted to, in order to obtain gratification to these two faculties, we may form some estimate of the impulse which would be given to physical, moral, and intellectual improvement, if they were withdrawn from the worship of idols, and directed according to reason. Men

will always desire to be nobles, and stand in the highest rank, to be respected, and to be treated with consideration by their fellow men, as long as Self-Esteem and Love of Approbation shall exist; but their notions of what constitute nobility and high rank will change, as their minds become enlightened. Under the system of nature, a family would esteem itself noble, when it was able to show a long line of healthy, handsome, refined, moral, intelligent, virtuous, and useful men and women, in its genealogy, with few profligates, and few imbeciles; and an individual who claimed the consideration of society, would present high attainments, pure morals, and refined manners, before an intelligent public, and feel secure of commanding a willing homage.

If you conceive nobles and individuals of high rank and remote ancestry animated by such motives, and setting such examples before their inferiors, how powerful would the impulse of improvement be, compared with what it must always continue, while men overlook the real elements of greatness in the gratification of their ambition, and aim chiefly at the external symbols of a pampered vanity, which elevate the undeserving to a level with the most accomplished, and misdirect the aspirations of the whole community.

We are now prepared to answer the arguments by which hereditary rank and artificial nobility are defended, as advantageous, in the present state of Britain. The first is, that their existence presents objects of respect to the common people, and accustoms them to habits of deference and obedience. I reply, that the common people respected the decorations of rank, the wig, the ruffles, and the waistcoats, of the last century, only while they were deplorably ignorant; and in like manner, they can regard with deference and awe, ancient titles apart from merit, only while

they continue in the same condition. The moment they become sufficiently enlightened and independent in their moral and intellectual judgments, they will cease to admire hereditary rank without high qualities. It is neither moral, safe, nor advantageous, therefore, to set up as a means of cultivating the respectful feelings of the people, objects that will not bear the investigation of enlightened reason, and the end in view cannot be attained by such a method.

The second defence of hereditary nobility, is, that by instituting it, you establish a separate class dedicated to refinement, taste, and elegance, who by their example will improve the inferior orders. The answer is, that all these qualities are essential elements in nature's nobility, and after a certain stage of social enlightenment had been reached, would be assiduously cultivated for their own sake, and that of the distinction which they would confer; and therefore, that the only effect of patents of rank is to preserve individuals in possession of the outward advantages generally paid to these high attainments, without having them in their minds. I am a strong advocate for refinement, and clearly perceive that the higher classes possess much more of it, than the middle and lower ranks; and, viewing it as one important element in a truly excellent and noble character, I am anxious to see it prized, and more widely sought after by the lower grades; but I believe that the best way to bring about this result, is to dissipate the essentially vulgar illusion, that descent, title, or any artificial or accidental circumstance can produce it, or can exclude any individual from attaining it, and thereby induce all, to esteem it for its own sake, and to respect those only, who really possess it.

The third argument, in favor of hereditary and artificial rank is, that the admiration of it is natural,

and has existed in all ages and countries, and that it must, therefore, be beneficial. I have explained, that the faculties of Veneration, Self-Esteem, and Love of Approbation, are all natural, and that one of their tendencies is to respect and esteem ancient descent and superior qualities. The only difference between the admirers of things as they are and myself, consists in this, that they present artificial objects on which these faculties may expend their desires, and which objects, when examined by reason, are found to be unworthy of enlightened regard; whereas, I propose to have them directed only according to reason, and to objects pleasing at once to the understanding, the moral sentiments, and to these faculties themselves.

At present, it is the interest of the artificial nobles to keep the people ignorant, rude, and superstitious; because men in such a condition, are best fitted to worship idols; and accordingly, the most purely aristocratic, unintellectual, and poorly gifted peers, have always been the greatest opponents of the emancipation, education, and elevation of the people; while, on the contrary, all the truly noble minds born among the aristocracy,—those on whom nature has set the stamp of moral as well as intellectual greatness,—have been the friends, and willing benefactors of the people. And if there were no nobility except that of nature, her nobles would be prompted by interest as well as inclination, to promote the improvement and elevation of all classes, because they would feel that their own rank, happiness, and usefulness, depended on having a cultivated, discriminating, moral, and intellectual community for their associates and admirers.

I have dwelt on this subject longer than some of you may consider to have been necessary, but the same principles have a wide application. They lead

us at once to the conclusion, that hereditary entails ought also, as early as possible, to be abolished. An entail is a deed in law executed by the proprietor of an estate by which he calls a certain series of heirs to perpetual enjoyment of the rents, or produce, or possession of the land, but without allowing to any of them a right of property in itself. None of them can sell the estate, or burden it with debt, beyond his own life-time, or give it to a different order of heirs from those pointed out in the deed of entail. If, for example, the property be destined to heirs male, the present possessor may have a daughter, who is the apple of his eye and the treasure of his heart, and no male relation, nearer than a tenth cousin, and this cousin may be a profligate of the most disgraceful description; but the law is blind—the daughter can inherit not one acre of the vast domain, and the remote and unworthy male takes it all. This, however, is comparatively the least of the evils attending entails. Their existence maintains in an artificial rank, and in possession of great wealth, and, consequently, influence,—individuals, who, by their natural qualities, ought to stand at the bottom of the social scale, and who, like the hereditary nobility, operate as idols, on the minds of the aspiring and rising of the middle and lower ranks, leading them to an insensate worship of aristocratic rank. They give them the tendency to overlook all the natural elements of real greatness and goodness, and to trust in the devices of princes and men's sons, for the gratification of their ambition.

Many persons may imagine that this is a small social evil, affecting only the individuals who give way to this idol worship, and that they are not numerous. But it appears to me to be of greater magnitude, and to lead to more extensive consequences. It enshrines

with the sanction of law, the erroneous principle of preserving by artificial means, social greatness and influence to individuals, independently of their natural qualities; and this directly tends to encourage all classes to overlook or undervalue natural excellence, and strive only to attain wealth, and to preserve it in their families, by the aid of legal technicalities, against the law of God, and the welfare of their fellow men. This averting of the general mind from the real principles of social improvement, and giving it a false direction, appears to me to be the worst evil attending all artificial systems for preserving family distinctions. The class which is thus supported, has many powerful motives for improvement withdrawn from it; —it leans upon crutches, and therefore rarely exercises its muscles; and as a natural consequence it looks with an indifferent, if not a hostile glance, on all its inferiors who are laboring to attain that excellence, with which it dispenses in itself. A great deal of the resistance, and the lukewarmness, if not positive aversion of the higher ranks, to the instruction and refinement of the people, may be traced to the consciousness that their own pretensions rest, to a great extent, on an artificial basis, and on illusions, which would yield before advanced and generally diffused civilization.

The same arguments which I have now employed against artificial rank and entails, apply to all exclusive privileges and distinctions, conferred by law, on individuals or classes, independently of their merits. The social institutions of every country in Europe have been overrun, more or less, with such abuses. In France, before the Revolution, every class of the people except the lowest, had its exclusive privileges, and every town and department its selfish rights of monopoly or exemption, which were maintained with

all the blind avidity usually displayed by an unenlightened selfishness. The revolution swept these away, and made all France and all Frenchmen equal in their rights and privileges, to the great advantage of the whole nation. In our own country, the spirit of reform is busy extinguishing similar marks of barbarism, but they are still clung to with great affection by the true adherents of the individual system.

The brief limits of this course prevent me from entering into farther details on this subject, but I again beg of you not to misunderstand me. He who should go forth from this hall, and report that the great object of my lectures on moral philosophy was to recommend the abolition by force of hereditary nobility, entails, and monopolies, would not do me justice. The real object of this course has been to shew that men must obey the laws of God before they can become happy—that one of these laws is, that we should love our neighbor as ourselves, or, in other words, embrace practically, the great truth that individual enjoyment is inseparably connected with, and dependent on, social welfare; that to promote the general welfare, it is necessary to render all the members of the community alive to its improvement, and to withdraw from them all artificial means of propping up their individual fortunes and rank, independently of virtue; that hereditary titles, entails, and other exclusive privileges of classes and individuals, are the fortifications in which the selfish principle entrenches itself in order to resist and obstruct general improvement, and that on *this account* they ought to be undermined and destroyed. I have endeavored to shew that the classes who now imagine themselves to be benefitted by them, would actually profit by their abolition, by being directed into the true path to happiness, and virtue; and I propose, by enlightening their under-

standings, and elevating the standards of public approbation, to induce a voluntary surrender of these distinctions, and not a forcible abrogation of them. Ages may elapse before these results shall be accomplished, but so did many centuries intervene between the painted skins, and the laced coat; and so did generations pass away between the embroidered waistcoats and our own age; yet our day has come, and so will a brighter day arrive, although *we* may be long removed from the scene before it dawns.*

The great characteristic of the mixed form of government is its tendency to promote the interests of the classes who wield political power, to the injury of the others. Even since Britain apparently enjoyed freedom, there has been an evident system of legislating for the advantage and gratification of the dominant class. The laws of primogeniture, of entails,

* Since the text was written, I have lived for fourteen months in the United States of North America, where no hereditary nobility, no privileged classes, and no entails exist. It is impossible not to perceive that in their absence, the higher faculties of the mind have a freer field of action. At the same time, truth compels me to remark, that as they were abolished in the United States by a sudden exercise of power, and as a system of equality was introduced as the result of a successful revolution, and did not arise spontaneously from the cultivation of the public mind and the development of the moral and intellectual faculties of the people, the democracy of the United States does not present all that enlightenment of the understanding; that highminded love of the beneficial and the just; that refinement of manners, and that well regulated self-control, which constitute the most valuable fruits of political freedom. In the United States, the selfish faculties appear to me to be as active and as blind as in Britain. The political institutions of the country are in advance of the mental cultivation of the mass of the people; and the most cheering consideration of the philanthropist, in the prospect of the future, is the fact, that these institutions have given supreme power to the people; that there is no possibility of depriving them of it; and that, therefore, it is equally the duty and the interest of men of all ranks and conditions to concur in elevating the people in the scale of moral, religious, and intellectual improvement, so as, in time, to render them worthy of their high calling among nations. Much remains to be accomplished.

and of the non-liability of heritable property for personal debts, which last long prevailed in England, were all instances in which the aristocracy legislated for themselves, at the expense of the people. The game laws, the corn laws, and the timber duties, are additional instances. In proportion, again, as the mercantile classes acquired political power, they followed the same example: They induced Parliament to pass acts for encouraging the shipping interest, the fisheries, the linen manufacture, and a great variety of other interests, by paying direct bounties to those engaged in them, out of the public purse, or by laying protecting duties, to be paid by the public, on the rival produce of foreign nations. In the administration of public affairs, the same principle was followed. The army and navy, the church and the colonies, and all other departments of the public service, were converted into a vast nursery for the sons of the aristocracy and their political dependents among the middle classes, while there were combination laws against the laboring classes, to punish them for combining to raise the price of their own labor; laws authorizing sailors to be impressed and forced to serve in the navy, at inferior wages to the common rate allowed in merchants' ships; and even the militia laws, although apparently equal, were actually contrived to throw the whole burden of service on the lower orders. The penalty on all ranks for non-appearance to be enrolled was £20. This, to a laboring man whose income was 10s. a week, was equal to forty *weeks* labor; or, to an artisan who earned 20s. a week, it was equal to twenty *weeks* wages. To a master tradesman, a merchant, professional man, or small proprietor, whose revenue was £365 per annum, it was equal only to twenty *days* income. To have produced equality, the fine ought to have been computed at the amount of a cer-

tain number of days income for all classes: According to this rule, a man having £360 per annum of income, would have paid £140 of fine, when a mechanic, who earned 20s. a week, would have paid £20, or a laborer, with 10s. a week, £10. A great proprietor, enjoying £50,000 a year, would then have paid £20,000 of fine, for exemption from service in the militia.

If the operative classes had had a voice in Parliament proportionate to their numbers, there is no doubt that this would have been the rule; and if so, it would have rendered the militia system so intolerably burdensome to the middle and higher classes, that its existence would have been brief, and means might perhaps have been discovered for bringing the last French war to a more speedy termination.

The great argument in my mind for abolishing impressment, is, that when sailors must be enticed by high wages and good treatment into the service of the country, it will be necessary for naval officers to become moral, intelligent, and amiable, because it will only be by such qualities that they will be able to retain crews in their ships, and preserve authority over them. Sailors, themselves, by being well treated, will be improved. War will be softened in its horrors, when waged by men thus civilized; and I hope that the additional costliness of it, on such a system, will tend to cause the public generally to put an end to it altogether. If I am right in these views, the mixed form of government is one adapted to a particular stage of civilization, that in which an intelligent class co-exists with an ignorant mass; but it is not the perfection of human institutions.

The next form of government presented to our consideration is the *democratic*, or that in which political power is deposited exclusively in the people, and by

them delegated to magistrates, chosen for a longer or shorter period, by themselves.

If the world be really governed by God, on the principle of supremacy in the moral and intellectual faculties, our social miseries must arise from individuals and classes pursuing their separate interests, regardless of those of the rest of the community; and, in this view, the sooner all ranks enjoy political power, the sooner will legislation assume a truly moral character, and benefit the entire nation. But keeping in view the other principle, which I have endeavored to expound—that men are incapable of steadily pursuing moral and just objects, until their moral and intellectual faculties shall have obtained the ascendency, and that this can be realized only by the sedulous training of their moral sentiments, and the enlightenment of their understandings by education,—you will perceive that no nation can become fit for a republican form of government, until all classes of the people are nearly equally advanced in morality, intelligence, and civilization. The ancient republics of Greece and Rome form no exceptions to this rule. They were confined to a very small territory, and the whole citizens of each republic were for many ages within reach of personal communication with each other, so that there existed some degree of equality of intelligence among them. Whenever their empire became extensive, their free government ceased; and was superseded by a despotism. But these ancient republics were never moral institutions. Their freedom resulted from the equal balance of the power of the different classes of which they were composed; or from the rivalry of their different orators and leaders, who destroyed each other, as they respectively attempted to usurp an undue share of authority. The people in their assemblies, and the senators in their senates, were often guilty of the most unjust and un-

principled tyranny against individuals; and altogether, the boasted liberties of Greece and Rome appear only as the results of the struggles of equal combatants, who agree to live on terms of mutual toleration, because they have discovered their inability to succeed in usurpation. The reason of this is obvious. There were in those states no true religion, no moral training, no printing-presses, and no science of nature. The great mass of the people were ignorant; and Phrenology shews us that although a people, enjoying large brains and active temperaments, situated in a fine climate, but destitute of moral and intellectual training, may have been ingenious and acute, yet that they must necessarily have been turbulent and immoral; and such these ancients really were. Their records, which have reached, us are the works of a few distinguished men who arose among them, and who certainly displayed high genius in the fine arts, in literature, and eloquence; but these were the educated and the talented few. From the very necessity of their circumstances, without science, and without printed books, the mass of the people must have been profoundly ignorant, the slaves of the animal propensities. Their domestic habits, as well as their public conduct, shew that this was the case. The popular religion of the ancient nations was a mass of revolting absurdities and superstitions. Their wives were mere domestic drudges, and their hours of recreation were devoted to concubines. Their public entertainments were human combats, in which ferocious men put each other to death, or in which wild animals tore each other to pieces. All labor was performed by slaves, whom they maltreated in the cruelest manner. They pursued war and conquest as their national occupations, and in their public acts they occasionally banished or condemned to death their best and most

upright citizens. These are facts, which we read of in the histories of Greece and Rome. They exhibit the vigorous ascendency of the animal propensities, and the feeble power of the moral sentiments, as clearly as if we saw the barbarous crowds standing in all their prowess and ferocity before us.

In the middle ages, a number of small republics sprang up in Italy, and we are dazzled by representations of their wealth, magnificence, and freedom. One observation applies to them all. They exhibited the dominion of an oligarchy over the people, and the ruling classes practised the most disgraceful tyranny, wherever they were not restrained by fear of each other. Most of them ultimately fell before the power of the larger monarchies, and are now extinct.

Switzerland presents a brighter prospect. As it was the first country in Europe which acquired freedom, so has it longest preserved the blessing. The moral and intellectual qualities of the people, which I described in my last lecture, fitted them for free governments, and the Swiss nation constituted itself into a congeries of republics, acting in federation, but each independent in its internal administration. In the course of time, power fell into the hands of an aristocratic class there, as in Italy, but the native qualities of the Swiss mind seem to have warded off the consequences which in other countries generally ensued. "The members of the Sovereign Council of Bern, we are told, were elected for life, and every ten years there was an election to supply the vacancies that had occurred during that period. The councillors themselves were the electors; and as old families became extinct, vacancies were supplied from new families of burghers, in compliance with the rule that there should not be less than eighty families having members in the great council. Still, the number

of families in whose hands the government was vested, was comparatively small; and several unsuccessful attempts were made, in the course of the eighteenth century, to alter this state of things, and to reinstate the assemblies of the body of the burghers. The discontent, however, was far from general, and did not extend to the country population. The administration was conducted in an orderly, unostentatious, and economical manner; the taxes were few and light. "It would be difficult," says the historian Müller, "to find in the history of the world a commonwealth, which for so long a period has been so wisely administered as that of Bern. In other aristocracies, the subjects were kept in darkness, poverty, and barbarism; factions were encouraged amongst them, while justice winked at crime, or took bribes; and this was the case in the dependencies of Venice. But the people of Bern stood, with regard to their patricians, rather in the relation of clients towards their patrons, than in that of subjects towards their sovereigns." Zschokke, a later Swiss historian, speaking of Bern, and other aristocracies of Switzerland, says, "They acted like scrupulous guardians. The magistrates, even the highest among them, received small salaries; fortunes were made only in foreign service, or in the common bailiwicks of the subject districts. Although the laws were defective, and trials secret, the love of justice prevailed in the country; power wisely respected the rights of the humblest freeman. In the principal towns, especially the protestant ones, wealth fostered science and the fine arts. Bern opened fine roads, raised public buildings, fostered agriculture in its fine territory, relieved those districts that were visited by storms or inundations, founded establishments for the weak and the helpless, and yet contrived to accumulate considerable sums in its treasury.

But the old patriotism of the Swiss slumbered; it was replaced by selfishness, and the mind remained stationary; the various cantons were estranged from each other; instruction spread in the towns, but coarseness and ignorance prevailed in the country." The consequence of all this was, that when the storm came from abroad, it found the Swiss unprepared to face it. The French republic, in its career of aggression, did not respect the neutrality of Switzerland, but seized upon its territory and treasures, and inflicted on it the greatest calamities. In 1815, an aristocratical constitution was given to Bern, under the sanction of the allied powers who dethroned Napoleon; but in 1830, the canton of Bern, and several others, again changed their government, and became a democratic republic. "The new constitution has now (1836,) been in force for more than four years; notwithstanding some heart-burnings and party ebullitions, things appear to be settling into a regular system, and no act of violence or open bloodshed has accompanied the change." (*Penny Encyclopedia, article Bern.*)

This account of Bern appears remarkable, when compared with the history of other republics, the ruling factions of which, when allowed the privilege of self-election, life-tenures of office, and freedom from responsibility, invariably became selfish and unprincipled tyrants, converting the laws into engines of oppression, and the revenues of the state into sources of private gain. I can account for the superiority of the Swiss, only by the larger endowment of the moral and reflecting organs, in their brains, which seems to have been a characteristic feature in the people, from a very remote period, and which still continues. The Swiss skulls, in the possession of the Phrenological Society, present higher developments of the moral

and intellectual organs, than those of any other of the continental nations which I have seen. The Germans, who are originally the same people, in some districts resemble them; but they vary much in different places. The Swiss brain, I may notice, is not equally favorably combined in all the cantons. In Bern, Geneva, and Zurich, the combinations are the best; at least, this struck me, in travelling through the country.

I introduce these remarks, to call your attention to the fact, that the native quality of the mind of the people is a most important element in judging of the adaptation of any particular nation for any particular form of government; a principle which is entirely lost sight of by those philosophers who believe that all men are naturally equal in their native dispositions and intellectual capacities, and that a free government is equally suited to all.

The conclusion, in regard to the republican form of government, which I draw, is, that no people is fit for it, in whom the moral and intellectual organs are not largely developed, and in whom also they are not generally and extensively cultivated. The reason is clear: The propensities being all selfish,—any talented leader, who will address himself strongly to the interests and prejudices of an ignorant people, will carry their suffrages to any scheme which he may propose, and he will speedily render *himself* a dictator and *them* slaves. If there be a numerous dominant class equally talented and enlightened, the individuals among them will keep each other in check, but they will rule as an oligarchy, in the spirit of a class, and trample the people under their feet. Thus it appears, that by the ordination of Providence, the people have no alternative but to acquire virtue and knowledge; to embrace large, liberal, and

enlightened views, and to pursue moral and beneficial objects,—or to suffer oppression. This is another of the proofs that the moral government of the world is based on the principle of the supremacy of the moral sentiments and intellect; for turn where we will, we find suffering linked with selfishness, and enjoyment with benevolence and justice, in public as well as in private affairs.

The United States of North America present the best example of a democracy which has hitherto appeared in the history of the world. Power is there lodged with the entire people; and their magistrates, from the lowest to the highest, are truly the delegates of the national authority. Yet, in the older states of the Union, life and property are as secure as in any country in the world, and liberty is more complete. In my last lecture, I traced the preparation of this people for freedom in their history. The founders of American society were moral, religious and industrious men, flying from injustice and oppression; and were, therefore, probably men of the keenest moral and religious feelings of the old world at the time when they emigrated to the shores of America. Their ranks continued to be recruited from the industrious and enterprising of Europe; and hence, when they threw off the yoke of Britain, the *materiel* of the states consisted of minds of the best quality. Since they acquired their independence, they have continued to advance in education, morality and intelligence; and in conformity with the principle which I am now expounding, it is generally admitted, that the extent of education is considerably higher there than in any other country in the world. In Britain and France, you will find more *highly* educated men, but beside them, you will perceive countless multitudes of human beings enveloped in the profoundest ignorance,

or who have received no education at all. In America, you will meet with few men of such high culture and attainments, as England and France can boast of; but you will look in vain for the masses of uneducated stolidity which are the disgraces of Europe. The American people are *nearly all* to some extent educated. They are not only able, on an emergency, to read and write, but they are in the daily habit of reading; and they understand the great principles of morals, political economy, and government, better than the uneducated classes of this country. The co-existence of the greatest freedom, therefore, with the highest general intelligence in America, is in harmony with the doctrines which I am now endeavoring to expound.*

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* The observations in the text were written before I had visited the United States, and were founded on such information as I had then obtained from communications with individuals who had lived in them, and from books. After having had the advantages of personal observation, I print the text as essentially correct; but I find that I had over-estimated the attainments of the mass of the people in the United States. The *machinery* for education which they have instituted, and which they support by taxation, or voluntary contribution, is great and valuable, and rather exceeds than falls short of my preconceived opinions; but the *quality and quantity* of the education dispensed by it, are far inferior to what I had imagined. The *things taught*, and the *modes of teaching*, in the public or common schools, which educate the people, are greatly inferior to the improved schools of Britain. While, therefore, I confirm the observation in the text, "that the people generally understand the great principles of morals, political economy and government, better than the uneducated classes of Britain," I must add the qualification that the difference between the two, is only like that between moon light and the light of the stars. In regard to the scientific principles of morals, political economy, and government, especially of the first and the second, the people of the United States appear to me to be greatly in the dark. At the same time, there are many enlightened philanthropists among them, who see and deplore this ignorance, and are laboring assiduously, and I have no doubt successfully, to remove it. The impulse towards a *higher* education is, at this time, strong and energetic, and as the Americans are a *practical* people, I anticipate a great and rapid improvement. In Mas-

The history of the world has shewn nations degenerating, and losing the independence and freedom which they once possessed, and it is prophesied that America will lose her freedom, and become a kingdom in the course of years: or, that her states will fall asunder, and destroy each other. It is supposed, also, that the civilized nations of Europe will become corrupt, and through excessive refinement, sink into effeminacy, and proceed from effeminacy to ignorance, from ignorance to barbarism, and thence to dissolution. This has been the fate of the great nations of antiquity, and it is argued that as there is nothing new under the sun, what *has* been, *will be;* and that the ultimate destruction of European civilization is certain; while it is admitted that freedom, and arts and science, may flourish in some other region of the globe. The principle of philosophy, that similar causes in similar circumstances, produce similar effects, admits of no exception; and if modern Europe and the United States of America were in the same condition with the monarchies and republics of the ancient world, I should at once subscribe to the conclusion. But in the ancient governments, the mass of the people, owing to the want of printing, never were educated or civilized, and even the attainments of the ruling classes were extremely limited. They had literature and the fine arts, but they had no sound morality, no pure religion, little science, and very few

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sachusetts, the Hon. Horace Mann is devoting the whole powers of his great and enlightened mind, to the advancement of the common schools, and he is ably and zealously seconded by the government and enlightened coadjutors. The results cannot fail to be highly advantageous. The people of the United States owe it to themselves, and to the cause of freedom all over the world, to exhibit the spectacle of a refined, enlightened, moral, and intellectual democracy. Every male above twenty one years of age among them, claims to be a sovereign. He is, therefore, *bound to be a gentleman.*

of the useful arts which have resulted from science. The national greatness of those ages, therefore, was not the growth of the common mind, but arose from the genius of a few individuals, aided by accidental circumstances. It was like the dominion of France in our own day, when the military talents of Napoleon extended her sway from Naples to Moscow, and from Lisbon to Vienna: but which, resting on no superiority in the French people over the people of the conquered nations, was dissolved in a day, even under the eye of the commanding genius that had raised it.

When we apply the history of the past as an index to the events of the future, the condition of *like circumstances* is wanting; for Europe and the United States are in the progress of presenting, for the first time in the world, the spectacle of an universally educated people; and on this account, I do not anticipate the possibility of civilization perishing, or modern nations becoming effeminate and corrupt. The discovery of the natural laws, and those of organization in particular, will guard them against this evil. It is true, that only a few States in Europe have yet organized the means of universally educating the people; but Prussia, France, Holland, and Switzerland, have done so, and Britain is anxious to follow their example. The others must pursue the same course, for their own security and welfare. A barbarous people cannot exist in safety beside enlightened nations.

For the same reasons, I do not anticipate the dissolution of the union of the States of America, or that they will lose their freedom. They are advancing in knowledge and morality, and whenever the conviction becomes general, that the interests of the whole states are in harmony, which they undoubtedly are, the miserable attempts to foster the industry of

one at the expense of another, will be given up, and they may live in amity, and flourish long, the boast of the world, so far as natural causes of dissolution are concerned. This expectation is founded on the expectation that they will give a *real* education to their people; an education which shall render them conversant with the great principles of morals and political economy; so that they may know that there is a power above themselves, that of nature and nature's God, whose laws they must obey, before they can be prosperous and happy. I assume, also, that means will be found to expunge the blot and pestilence of slavery from their free institutions. It is a canker which will consume the vitals of the Union, if it be not in time eradicated. These expectations may appear to some to be bold and chimerical; but truth's triumphs have no limits; and justice, when once recognized as a rule of action, which it emphatically is, in the institutions of the United States, cannot be arrested midway in her career.

From the principles now laid down, it follows that the tendency of all governments, in modern times, is to become more democratic in proportion as the people become more intelligent and moral. Since 1831, our own government has been much more under the influence of the people, than at any previous period of our history. Those who feel alarm at the march of democracy, read history without the lights of philosophy. They have their minds filled with the barbarous democracies of Greece and Rome, and of the French revolution, and tremble at the anticipated rule of an ignorant rabble in Britain. On the other hand, the only democracy which I anticipate, as capable of gaining the ascendency here, will be that of civilized and enlightened, of moral, and refined men; and if the principles which I have expounded be correct,

that the higher sentiments and intellect are intended by nature to govern, it will be morally impossible that where an enlightened and an ignorant class co-exist, as in Britain, the ignorant should rule. In France, the reign of the ferocious democrats was short lived; the superior class speedily prevailed, and the reign of terror never was restored. In the ancient democracies, there was no enlightened class comparable with those of Britain. I regard the fears of those, therefore, who apprehend that the still ignorant and rude masses of our country will gain political power, and establish anarchy, as equally unfounded with the terror that the rivers will some day run up and spread the waters of the ocean over the vallies and the mountains. The laws of the moral, are as stable as those of the physical world; both may be shaken for a time by storms or convulsions, but the great elements of order remain forever untouched, and after the clearing of the atmosphere, they are seen in all their original strength and beauty. The result which I anticipate is, that education, religion and the knowledge of the natural laws, will in time extend over all classes of the community, till the conviction shall become general, that the Creator has rendered all our interests and enjoyments compatible; and that then all classes will voluntarily abandon exclusive privileges, unjust pretensions to superiority, and the love of selfish dominion, and establish a social condition in which homage will be paid only to virtue, knowledge, and utility, and in which a pure christian equality, founded on the principle of doing to others as we would wish others to do unto us, will universally prevail. These days may be very distant, but causes calculated to lead to them, appear to me to exist, and to be already in operation; and I hope that in these anticipations I am stating the deductions of a sound philosophy, and

not uttering the mere inspirations of a warm imagination. At all events, this theory which places independence, freedom, public prosperity, and individual happiness on the basis of religion, morality and intelligence, is ennobling in itself, and cannot possibly deceive us; because, however far mankind may stop short of the results which I have anticipated, and for the realization of which I allow centuries of time, it is certain that by no *other* path whatever, can they attain to any solid enjoyment, while for every step that they shall advance in this one, they will reap a corresponding reward.*

* A cheering sign of improvement is presented in the superior works that are now prepared for the instruction of the people in the United States. The "School Library," published under the sanction and by authority of the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts, by Messrs. Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb, of Boston, contains volumes replete with instruction, and characterized by good taste. The State of New York, likewise, has established a fund for supplying schools with good libraries. Private individuals, also, are contributing important works to the education of the people. Among these, I have recently seen one that was much wanted, and is now admirably supplied by E. P. Hurlbut, namely, a work on "Civil Office and Political Ethics." The "Ethics" are obviously founded on the new philosophy.

LECTURE XVIII.

DUTIES OF MAN AS A MORAL AND RELIGIOUS BEING.

Having discussed the foundation of moral philosophy, the duties of man, as an individual and as a social being, and also the causes of the independence and freedom of nations, with the relations of the different forms of government to the moral and intellectual conditions of the people, I proceed to consider man's duty to God, so far as this can be discovered by the light of nature.

Lord Brougham, in his "Dicourse of Natural Theology," maintains with great truth, that natural theology is a branch of natural philosophy. His argument is the following: It is a truth of physics, that vision is performed by the eye refracting light, and making it converge to a focus upon the retina. The eye is an optical instrument, which, by the peculiar combination of its lenses, and the different materials they are composed of, produces vision. Design and adaptation are clearly manifested in the construction. These are truths in natural philosophy; but a single step converts them into evidences in natural theology. The eye must have been formed by a Being possessing knowledge of the properties of light, and of the matter of which the eye is composed: that Being is no inhabitant of earth: He is superior to man: He is his Maker: He is God. Thus, the first

branch of natural theology, or that which treats of the existence and power of the Deity, rests on the same basis with physical science; in fact, it is a direct induction from the truths of science.

The second branch of natural theology treats of the duties of man towards God, and of the probable designs of the Deity, in regard to his creatures. The facts of mental philosophy stand in the same relation to this branch, that the facts in physical science stand in relation to the first branch. By contemplating each mental faculty, the objects to which it is related by its constitution, its sphere of action, its uses and abuses, we may draw certain conclusions regarding his intentions in creating our faculties, and touching the *duty* which we owe to Him, in the employment of them. It is obvious, that as God has given us understanding, to discriminate between the uses and abuses of our faculties; and moral sentiments, leading us to prefer their *use*, we owe it to Him as a duty, to fulfil his intentions, thus obviously expressed in our creation, by using our powers aright, and not abusing them.

The second branch of natural theology, like the first, rests upon the same foundation with all the other inductive sciences, the only difference being, that the one belongs chiefly to the inductive science of *physics*, and the other to the inductive science of *mind*.* This distinction, however, is not perfectly accurate, because the evidence of the existence and attributes of God, and also of man's duty towards Him, may be found in both branches of philosophy.

It has been objected, that revelation supersedes the necessity of studying natural theology. Dr. Thomas Brown, in his Lectures on Moral Philosophy, in the University of Edinburgh, has furnished a brief, but

* See Brougham's Discourse, 3d edit., p. 93. His argument is not clear.

powerful answer to this objection. "On this subject," says he, "that comprehends the sublimest of all the truths which man is permitted to attain, the benefit of *revelation* may be considered to render every inquiry superfluous, that does not flow from it. But to those who are blessed with a clearer illumination, it cannot be uninteresting to trace the fainter lights, which, in the darkness of so many gloomy ages, amid the oppression of tyranny in various forms, and of superstition more afflicting than tyranny itself, could preserve, still dimly visible to man, that *virtue* which he was to love, and that *Creator* whom he was to adore. Nor can it be without profit, even to their better faith, to find all *nature* thus *concurring*, as to its most important truths, with revelation itself; and every thing, living and inanimate, announcing that *high and holy One*, of whose *perfections* they have been privileged with a more splendid manifestation." *(Brown's Lectures, vol. iv., p. 401.)*

Dugald Stewart, in his Outlines of Moral Philosophy, also treats at considerable length of the subject of natural religion. "The study of philosophy," says he, "in all its various branches, both natural and moral, affords at every step a new illustration that the design which we trace in creation indicates wisdom, and that it operates in conformity to one uniform plan, insomuch that the truths of natural religion gain an accession of evidence from every addition that is made to the stock of human knowledge. *(Outlines, p. 271.)*

Dr. Chalmers, in the fifth chapter of his Bridgewater Treatise, discusses "the special and subordinate adaptations of external nature to the moral constitution of man," and observes, "notwithstanding the blight which has so obviously passed over the moral world, and defaced many of its original lineaments, while it has left the materialism of creation, the love-

liness of its scenes and landscapes, in a great measure untouched—still we possess very much the same materials for a Natural Theology, in reasoning on the element of virtue, as in reasoning on the element of beauty." (p. 191.)

Farther—I consider the study of natural theology as important in leading to a sound interpretation of scripture itself. Great differences exist in the interpretations put upon the sacred volume by different sects; and, as all truth must be harmonious, it appears to me that whenever the constitution of man, and the attributes of the Deity shall be ascertained, so far as this shall be possible, by strictly logical induction from facts, correctly observed in nature, all interpretations of scripture touching these points, must be brought into harmony with nature; otherwise they will be justly regarded as erroneous. Every well established doctrine in moral philosophy and in natural theology, founded on the constitution of nature, will be a plumb-line by which to adjust interpretations of scripture. The scripture doctrine of the corruption of human nature, for example, is one on which a vast variety of opinions is entertained by professing Christians. Phrenology shews that every faculty has received from the Creator an organ, and a legitimate sphere of action, although each of them has also a wide sphere in which it may commit abuses. As the evidence of this fact is physical and indestructible, it must in time extinguish all interpretations of scripture that are at variance with it. When scripture is interpreted in such a manner as to contradict the sound conclusions of reason, on subjects which lie within the legitimate province of reason, all such interpretations must be powerless, or positively mischievous. The sound dictates of reason are the revelations of God's attributes and will to the human understanding, through the medium of our natural constitution and that of

external nature, and they cannot be permanently and successfully resisted by any opinions of human origin. Again, no opinions of *divine* origin, *can* be in opposition to the sound dictates of reason, for God cannot contradict himself. In no religious creed, therefore, should there be any article, in regard to matters cognizable by reason, that does not harmonize with natural theology and moral philosophy, soundly deduced from facts; in short, with the manifestations of the Creator's attributes and will, impressed by Himself on creation. Revelation may go *beyond*, but when correctly interpreted, it never can *contradict*, the sound deductions of reason. In like manner, there should be no philosophy that is not religious;—that is to say, which should not be viewed as a chapter of the Creator's great book of revelation, addressed to the human understanding, through the constitution of the universe.

I proceed, therefore, to consider the subject of natural theology, without fearing that, if properly conducted, it will endanger any other class of truths.

The first point which I propose to investigate relates to the foundation of natural religion. I beg of you to observe, that religion emanates from a sentiment or emotion, and that it does not consist of a collection of mere intellectual conceptions or ideas. The foundations of it lie in the organs of Hope, Veneration, and Wonder. A brief explanation will enable you to understand this view. War springs originally, not from the human intellect, but from the propensities of Combativeness and Destructiveness, which give an instinctive tendency to oppose, to contend, and to destroy. There are legitimate spheres within which these propensities may act beneficially; but when they are too energetic, they carry captive the other powers, enlist them in their service, and then they lead to the wholesale destruction and horrors of war. Combativeness and Destructiveness,

operating in savage man, with very little intellect, produce war, in which ambush and cunning are the arts, and clubs, and bows and arrows the weapons employed in destruction. The same propensities, acting in the enlightened nations of modern Europe, lead to the employment of scientific principles in the construction of works of attack and of defence, and to the use of cannon, and other ingenious and complicated instruments of destruction. Still, Combativeness and Destructiveness are the original sources in the human mind from which war itself, in all its forms and with all its weapons, flows. If these instincts were not possessed, men would feel no impulse to fight, any more than they feel an impulse to fly. In like manner, the whole art of music rests on the organs of Time and Tune as its foundation. In some individuals, these organs are extremely defective; and they not only feel no internal impulse prompting them to produce melody, but they are insensible to its charms when produced by others. In other persons, again, these organs act with such vigorous energy, that they impel them, as it were, to elicit music from every object. You may have seen individuals, who, in want of a better instrument, have beat out passable tunes, by a succession of blows on their own chins. When the musical organs engage the intellectual faculties to assist them, they obtain, by their aid, instruments for producing music, refined and perfect in proportion to the degree in which the intellect is instructed in the various arts and sciences capable of being applied to the production of melody and harmony. Still, you clearly perceive that the origin or foundation of the whole art and practice of music lies in the organs of Time and Tune.

Farther—You can readily infer that war will be practised by any nation very much in the proportion

which Combativeness and Destructiveness bear in them, to the other faculties. If these propensities preponderate over the moral sentiments, the people will be constantly craving for war, and seeking occasions for quarrels. If they be very feeble, their attention will be directed to other and more peaceful pursuits, and they will naturally endeavor to avoid contentions. If we wish to tame a warlike people to the arts of peace, we should try to stimulate their higher faculties, and to remove all objects calculated to excite their pugnacious propensities. The same remarks apply to music. A native love for music will prevail in any people, in proportion to the natural endowment of the organs of Time and Tune in their brains. If we wish to cultivate music in a people, we should address the organs of Time and Tune by the sweetest and most touching melodies, and thereby call them gently and agreeably into action; knowing that by exercising them, and by no other means, can we increase their energy, and augment that people's love for music.

Similar observations may be applied to religion. The foundations of religion lie in the organ of Veneration, which instinctively feels emotions of respect and reverence, and gives the tendency to worship;—in the organ of Wonder, which longs after the new, the astonishing and supernatural, and which, combined with Veneration, leads us to adore ;—and in the organ of Hope, which instinctively looks forward in expectation of future enjoyment. These inspire man with a ceaseless desire to offer homage to a superior Being, to adore him, and to seek his protection. The instinctive activity of these organs has prompted men in all ages to employ their intellectual faculties to discover as many facts as possible concerning the existence and attributes of superior powers, or gods,

and to institute ceremonies in honor of them. In some tribes of savages, we are informed that no traces of religion have been discovered; but you will find that in them the organs which I have named are extremely small. They are in the same condition in regard to the religious feelings, that other tribes, in whom the organs of Time and Tune are deficient, stand in regard to melody; these have no music, in consequence of the extreme feebleness of the related organs in their brains. On the other hand, wherever the organs of the religious sentiments are large in a people, the nation or tribe will be found to be proportionally devoted to religion. If their intellectual faculties be feeble, if they have no science, and no revelation, to direct them, they may be engulphed in superstition; but superstition is only the religious sentiment gone astray. They may be found worshipping stocks and stones, reptiles, and idols, of the most revolting description; but still, this shews, not only that the tendency to worship exists in them, but that it may be manifested in great vigor when intellect is feeble or very imperfectly informed. It proves also that these sentiments are in themselves blind, or mere general impulses, which will inevitably err, unless directed by an illumination superior to their own.

There is a distinction in nature between morals and religion. The organs of Benevolence and Conscientiousness are the foundations of morals. When they are predominently large, they produce the tendency to do justly, and to act kindly towards all men; but if the organs of the religious sentiments be deficient, there will not be an equal tendency to worship. Thus, we meet with many men who are moral, but not religious. In like manner, if the organs of the religious sentiments be large, and those of Conscientiousness and Benevolence be deficient, there may be a

strong tendency to perform acts of religious devotion, with a great disregard of the duties of brotherly love and honesty. We meet with such characters in the world. The late Sir Henry Moncrieff, minister of St. Cuthbert's Parish, in Edinburgh, is mentioned as having described a person, with whom he had had many transactions, in these forcible terms: "He is a clever man, a kind-hearted man, and he seems to be a religious man,—in short, an excellent man; only somehow or other he is sadly deficient in common honesty." Phrenology enables us to comprehend the combination of qualities which gives rise to such characters. The description indicates large Intellect, large organs of the religious sentiments, and large Benevolence, but great deficiency of the organs of Conscientiousness.

According to these views, religion rests on the sentiments of Veneration, Wonder, and Hope, as its foundation. The enlightenment of the intellect serves to direct these sentiments to their proper objects, but does not produce them, and therefore does not produce religion. Revelation may be defined to be a communication from heaven to the intellectual faculties, informing them of truths which they could not discover by their unaided exertions, and enabling them thereby to direct and guide the religious sentiments to objects which they could not reach, unless thus enlightened and directed. According to this view, revelation does not *create* religious feelings in man: it only enlightens, enlivens, and directs the religious sentiments previously inherent in his nature. This idea may be thus illustrated: Let us imagine that in the songs of heaven there is a particular choral symphony, which the human faculties, unaided, could never invent. If an angel were sent to teach it, it is quite conceivable that the organs of Time and Tune, guided by such a teacher, might learn to execute it; and that men thus taught

might be better prepared for joining the choral band of heaven, when they entered the realms of bliss, than if they had not been favored with this celestial instruction. This is conceivable, without supposing the angel to create the organs of Time and Tune in man, and without supposing these organs to deviate from the laws of their natural constitution in acquiring the celestial air. We can conceive also, that as *this* air would be purer, more exalted, more exquisite, and more perfect, than any melody of merely human growth, the practice of it might enliven the faculties of Time and Tune, render them more exquisite in their perceptions, and lead them to prefer higher standards of music; and that, as a natural consequence of this enlivenment, the organs might increase in size and activity, and the capacity for music be greatly enlarged.

In like manner, revelation may be regarded as communicating truths which the unaided faculties of man could not reach, but still designedly adapted to his previously existing faculties, and operating by exalting, purifying, invigorating and directing them in the exercise of their natural functions. It is conceivable that individuals may be prepared, by the cultivation and direction, by this means, of their moral and religious sentiments, to join the society of angels and just men made perfect in heaven, in a manner and to a degree which they could not reach, but for this divine instruction and guidance. Natural Theology, for example, is not calculated to present us with sufficiently clear and practical information concerning a future state of existence. It affords grounds of expectation of a life to come, but no demonstrative evidence of it. To make known a condition of Being, beyond the grave, and to prepare us for it, is the peculiar province of Revelation; and in regard to this particular object, its superiority to natural religion

must be universally confessed. Those individuals, in whom the organs of Time and Tune were most fully developed and best cultivated, would be best prepared to profit by the angel teacher's visits, and in like manner, those men in whom the organs of the religious, moral, and intellectual faculties, were largest, and most fully exercised, would be best prepared to imbibe, assimilate and practise, the precepts of Revelation.

According to these views, it is impossible that religion itself can be overset, or eradicated from the human mind. The forms and ceremonies by which the religious sentiments manifest themselves may be expected to vary in different ages, and in different countries, according to the state of the intellectual cultivation of the people; but these emotions themselves evidently glow with a never-dying flame, and man will cease to worship, only when he ceases to exist.

After the exposition which I have given of the origin of music, you would smile if I were to assure you that music would perish, if the society of professional musicians were dissolved. You would at once discover that this society itself, as well as all the pieces which they perform, and the instruments which they use, have sprung from the innate love of music in the mind, and that it is mistaking the effect for the cause, to imagine, that when they cease to exist as a society, music will become extinct. The result of their dissolution would be, that the inherent activity of the musical faculties would prompt other individuals to establish other societies, and probably on more improved principles; and music would flourish still.

It is equally absurd to mistake churches, articles of faith, and acts of parliament for the foundations of religion, and to imagine, that when these are changed, *religion* will perish. The day was, when religion was

universally believed to rest solely on the decrees of Roman Catholic councils and popish bulls for its existence, and when the Priests of the popish faith assured the world that the moment that their church and authority were subverted, religion would be forever destroyed. But we have lived to see religion flourishing vigorously in nations which disowned that authority and church. If the churches and articles of faith now prevalent, shall be changed, of which there is much probability, the adherents of them will, in imitation of the priests of Rome, proclaim that the doom of religion has been sealed; but all men who are capable of looking at the true foundation of religious worship, firmly and deeply laid in the functions of the human faculties, will be unmoved by such alarms. They will expect religion to shine forth in ever brightening loveliness and splendor, in proportion to the enlightenment of the public mind, and they will fear neither infernal nor terrestrial foes.

It would be a great advantage if a firm conviction of the soundness of these views could be carried home to the public mind, because it would help to deliver many excellent persons from the blind terrors in which they constantly live, lest religion should be destroyed; and tend also, to lessen the acrimony of contending sects, every one of which identifies its own triumph with that of religion itself.

The next question that presents itself, is, whether there be any moral or religious duties prescribed to man by Natural Theology? In answering this question, moralists in general proceed to prove the existence and attributes of God, and to infer from them the duties which we owe to him, as our Creator, preserver, and governor. They regard him as the mighty God, and we as his lowly subjects, bound to fear, tremble, love, and obey him: I entirely concur in this view

when applied *to doing the will of God:* but it appears to me, that it has often, led to misconceptions and abuse. Religious duty has, somehow or other, come to be too generally regarded (in the spirit at least in which it is practised, if not in words,) as an homage rendered to the divine Being for his own gratification, which he will be displeased if we withhold, and which, on the other hand, he will reward, if cordially and devoutly tendered to him, in the form of benefits conferred on the devotee. In short, it partakes too much of the character of selfishness. Many persons have a notion of the divine Being something resembling that of an earthly sovereign, whom they may win and gratify by praises and flattery, and from whose favor they may expect to receive something agreeable and advantageous in return. All this is superstition and error. I am aware that no rational christian puts his religious worship into the form of such propositions; but I fear that the spirit of them can be too often detected in much of the religion of the world.

It appears to me that the religious service of the Deity possesses, under the lights of nature, a totally different character.

The *existence* of a supreme Creator and governor of the world, is no doubt the first position to be established in natural religion: but the proofs of it are so abundant, so overpowering to the understanding, and so captivating to the sentiments, that I regard this as the simplest, the easiest, and the least likely to be disputed, of all the branches of the subject. If reflecting intellect be possessed, we can scarcely move a step in the investigation of nature without receiving irresistible proofs of divine agency and wisdom. I opened the first book embracing natural science, that came to my hand, when composing this lecture. It happened to be a number

of the penny Cyclopedia, which had just been sent in by the bookseller; and I turned up the first page that presented itself, (p. 151.) It chanced to be one on Bees, and I read as follows: "In many instances, it is only by the bees travelling from flower to flower, that the pollen or farina is carried from the male to the female flowers, without which, they would not fructify. One species of bee would not be sufficient to fructify all the various sorts of flowers, were the bees of that species ever so numerous, for it requires species of different sizes and different constructions." M. Sprengel found that, "not only are insects indispensable in fructifying different species of Iris, but that some of them, as I. Xiphium, require the agency of the larger bumble bees, which alone are strong enough to force their way between the stile-flag; and hence, as these insects are not so common as many others, this Iris is often barren, or bears imperfect seeds."

This simple announcement proves to my understanding, incontestibly, the existence and presence of a Deity in creation; because we see here an important end, clearly involving design, accomplished by agents altogether unconscious of the service in which they are engaged. The bee, performing, all unconsciously to itself, the work of fructification of the flowers; and the provision of bees of different weights for stile-flags of different strengths, bespeak, in language irresistible, the hand and mind of an intelligent contriver. And who is this contriver? It is not man. There is only one answer possible,—it is the Deity; and one object of his selecting such a method for operating, appears to have been, to speak home to the understandings of men, concerning his own presence, power, and wisdom. Nature is absolutely overflowing with similar examples.

But there is another species of proof of the existence of a God,—that which is addressed to the moral sentiments of man. "The external world," says Mr. Sedgewick, "proves to us the being of a God, in two ways: by addressing the imagination, as well as by informing the reason. It speaks to our imaginative and poetic feelings, and they are as much a part of ourselves as our limbs and our organs of sense. Music has no charms for the deaf, nor has painting for the blind; and all the touching sentiments and splendid imagery borrowed by the poet from the world without, would lose their magic power, and might as well be presented to a cold statue as to a man, were there no preordained harmony between his mind and the material beings around him. It is certain that the glories of the external world are so fitted to our imaginative powers as to give them a perception of the Godhead and a glimpse of his attributes; and this adaptation is a proof of the existence of God, of the same kind (but of greater or less power, according to the constitution of our individual minds) with that we derive from the adaptation of our senses to the constitution of the material world." (pp. 20, 21.)

Assuming then the existence of a Deity as demonstrable by means of the works of creation, the next question is, what can we discover of his character, by the exercise of our natural faculties?

In answering this question, I observe, in the first place, that we cannot possibly discover any thing from creation concerning his person, or personal history, if I may use such expressions, because there is no manifestation of these in the external world. If, for example, we were to present a thread of raw silk to an intelligent man, and ask him, from its physical appearances alone, to describe the individual characteristics of the maker of the thread, he would tell you

that it was impossible to do so; because the object presented to him did not contain one element from which his understanding could legitimately infer a single fact in answer to such a question. In like manner, when we survey earth, air, and ocean, our own minds and bodies, and every page of creation that is open to us, although we perceive thousands of indications of the mental qualities of the Creator, we receive not one ray of light concerning his form of being, his personal history, residence, or individual nature. All conjectures on this subject, therefore, founded on reason, apart from revelation, are the offspring of fancy, or of superstition.

But we receive from creation overwhelming proofs of his mental qualities. In the stupendous mechanism of the heavens, in which our sun and whole planetary system are but as one wheel, and that so small, that although annihilated, its absence would scarcely be perceptible,—we perceive indications of power which absolutely overwhelm our imaginations. In the arrangements of physical and animal creation, we discover proofs of wisdom without limits; and in the endowment of our own minds, and the adaptation of the external world to them, we discover evidence of unbounded goodness, intelligence, and justice.

The inference which I draw from these manifestations of the divine character is this: that God veils from us his individual or personal nature, to avert from our minds every conception that he stands in need of us, or of our homage, or services, *for his own sake;* so that we may have neither temptation nor apology for adopting a system of worship, such as we should address to a being whom we desired to flatter or please by our attentions; and that he reveals to us his moral and intellectual attributes, to intimate to us that the worship which will meet with his appro-

bation, is that which will best cultivate our own moral and intellectual powers. Now, what *is* this form of service? All creation proclaims an answer! It is acting in the spirit of the Creator as manifested in his works. If so, natural religion must be progressive in its principles and duties, in exact correspondence with an increasing knowledge of the mental character and will of the Deity, expressed in his works; and it really is so.

Theologians often reproach the religion of nature with barrenness, darkness, and uncertainty. They might as legitimately have made the same charge against the *philosophy* of nature. Up to a very recent period, indeed, the philosophy of nature was entirely barren; but the reason was, not that in itself it contained no wisdom, nor any elements adapted to the profitable use of man, but that man's ignorance was so great, that he had not discovered how to study one page of that philosophy in its right spirit. As soon as Lord Bacon put him into the road, to study wisely, natural philosophy became munificently productive; and at this hour, her stores appear to be yet only opening before the human intellect and imagination.

The same history will hereafter be given of natural religion. While men were ignorant of every principle of philosophy, it was most natural to ascribe every isolated cause to an isolated power, and to imagine as many deities as there were agencies in the world, which they could not reconcile. They saw the rivers rushing to the ocean in mighty torrents;—their Veneration and Wonder were moved by the power displayed in the descent of the waters; and they imagined a river god as the cause. They perceived the earth yielding spontaneously, fruits and flowers, and herbage of the richest kinds; they felt the bounty of the gifts, and ignorant of their cause, ascribed them to the goddess

Ceres. They saw the seasons change, and the sun, moon, and planets presenting different phases and appearances; and ignorant of the cause, but deeply impressed with the manifestations of power which these orbs displayed, they imagined them to be deities themselves. All this was the natural effect of the human faculties operating in profound ignorance of physical causation.

But when philosophy demonstrated that the planets revolve, and rivers roll, in virtue of one law of gravitation, we no longer ascribe each action to a separate deity, but attribute both to one; and our notions of that one are prodigiously enhanced by the perception of a single power extending over such mighty intervals of space, and operating in all, according to one uniform law. In proportion, therefore, as we advance in knowledge of creation, we discover proofs of uniformity, combination, mutual relationship, and adaptation, that compel the understanding to ascend to one cause, and to concentrate in that cause the most transcendent qualities. It is thus, that our conceptions of the attributes of the divine Being drawn from nature, go on increasing in truth, in magnificence and beauty, in proportion as we proceed in the acquisition of knowledge; and as our progress in it is of recent origin, we may well believe that natural religion could not earlier have presented many attractions to the understanding or the moral sentiments of man.

But the reproach is made against natural theology, that it is barren also in regard to man's duties. Here the same answer occurs. Natural theology teaches that it is man's duty to perform aright the part which God has allotted to him in creation; but how could he discover what that part was, until he became acquainted with himself and with creation? Natural theology was barren in regard to the prescription of

duties, only because the knowledge of nature, which alone gives it form and substance, had itself, scarcely an existence in the human mind. Man had not learned to read the record, and was therefore ignorant of the precepts which it taught. He was exactly in the same condition, in regard to natural religion, in which most of us would be, if we had never received any but a Gaëllic Bible. The whole doctrines and precepts of christianity may be faithfully recorded, and most explicitly set down in it; but if we cannot interpret the characters, of what service is the book to us? It would be absurd, however, to object against the Bible itself, on this account, that it is barren of instruction. In like manner, whenever we shall have interpreted aright the constitution of the human mind and body, the nature of the physical world, and our relations to it, and to God, which constitute the record of our duties, as prescribed by the Creator in the book of nature, we shall find natural theology most copious in its precepts, most express in its injunctions, and most peremptory in its demands of obedience. In short, it commands us, from God, to act according to his will, as revealed to our moral and intellectual faculties, in creation. For example: The moment that we discover that He has bestowed on man an organ of Philoprogenitiveness, and that we comprehend its uses and objects, every well constituted mind feels that this is a direct precept from God, that parents should love their children. But when we discover that this is a mere blind impulse, which may egregiously err, and that God has given us intellect and moral sentiments to direct its manifestations, the obligation is instantly recognized to lie on all parents, to use these faculties, in order to attain the knowledge necessary for loving their children according to true wisdom. And what is this knowledge? It is

acquaintanceship with the bodily constitution and mental faculties of children, and with the influence of air, diet, exercise, seasons, clothing, mental instruction, and society, upon them; so that they, the parents, may be enabled to train them in health, prepare them for becoming virtuous members of society, and secure their present and future happiness. If any parent, through ignorance of the physical constitution of her child, shall so mismanage its treatment, that it shall become miserable, or die, she has neglected a great duty prescribed by natural theology; because the moment she perceives that God has rendered that knowledge necessary to the welfare of the child, and has given her understanding to acquire it, she is guilty of disobedience to his will in omitting to seek it. The unhappiness and death of the child are punishments which clearly indicate his displeasure.

I appeal to you who have followed the course of Phrenology, and read the Constitution of Man, and been satisfied with the general truth of the principles unfolded in them, whether you do not feel these to be duties prescribed in the constitution of nature, by the Creator, to parents, with a command as clear and explicit, and with a sanction as certain, as if he had opened the heavens, and amidst thunders and the shaking of the universe, delivered to them the same precepts written on monumental brass! In truth, they are more so; because the authenticity of the tablets of brass, like those of stone, might be disputed and denied by sceptics, who did not themselves see them delivered; while the precepts written in our nature, adapted to the constitution of our faculties, and enforced by the whole order of creation, stand revealed in a record which never decays or becomes obsolete, and the authenticity of which no sceptic can successfully deny. If the precepts therein contained be neg-

lected by ignorance, or set at defiance by obstinacy, they never are so with impunity; because God in his providence sweeps resistlessly along in the course which he has revealed, and lays in the grave the children in whose persons his organic laws have been deeply infringed, renders unhappy those in whom they have been materially neglected, and rewards with enjoyment, only those in whose minds and bodies they have been obeyed.

The same principle applies to every action which our constitution and its relations point out to us as proper to be done or to be abstained from;—natural theology impresses on it at once the sanction of the divinity, and enforces it by all the dictates of Conscientiousness, Veneration, and Hope. If I am sound in the view which I have labored to establish, that the world is really constituted on the principle of the supremacy of the moral sentiments and intellect; that is, that human nature and the external world are so arranged as to admit of man becoming prosperous and happy in proportion as he becomes thoroughly moral and intelligent, as he seeks his chief enjoyments from his superior faculties, and arranges his time and occupations with a view to that result, and by no other means,—what a fertile field of precept for the practice of virtue is thus opened up to us! How eloquent, how forcible, how varied, and how instructive, may not the teachers of God's law and God's will then become, when they shall have the whole book of creation opened to them for texts; when every line shall be clear, interesting, and instructive; and when they shall be able to demonstrate, in the consequences which attend the fulfilment or neglect of their precepts, that they are teaching no vain or fanciful theories, but the true wisdom of God! Conceive for one moment how much of useful, interesting, nay, capti-

vating instruction, might be delivered to a general audience, by merely expounding the functions, uses, and abuses of the various organs of the body necessary to health, and of the organs and faculties of the mind, holding up the constitution of each as a divine intimation to man, and the consequences of using or abusing each, as solemn precepts from the divinity, addressed to his understanding and his moral and religious feelings!

Again—If these views be well founded, how unprofitable, and unproductive of real advantage, must the preaching and teaching of christianity necessarily be, while they are ignorantly neglected! Nothing appears to me to be more preposterous, than for human beings to pray, evening and morning, to their Maker—"Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on *earth* as it is in heaven," and all the while to close their eyes against the perception of the means appointed by God, for realizing his kingdom and doing his will on earth! So far from the duties prescribed by natural theology being either barren or adverse to christianity, it appears to me that christianity has remained, to a great extent, unproductive, misunderstood, and comparatively feeble, in consequence of the dictates of natural theology having been unknown and neglected. If I am correct in the single position that men, in whom the coronal region and the anterior lobe of the brain are large, are naturally alive to the truth and excellence of christianity, while those in whom these regions, particularly the coronal, are deficient, are naturally opposed to, or indifferent about it,—how important does it become to obey all the dictates of natural theology for improving the development of the brain, as a preliminary condition, indispensable to the general introduction of the morality of Jesus Christ!

LECTURE XIX.

DUTIES OF MAN AS A MORAL AND RELIGIOUS BEING.

In my last Lecture, I mentioned that natural religion is based on the sentiments of Veneration, Wonder, and Hope, which are innate in man, and which give him the desire to discover, and the disposition to worship and obey, superior power; that it is the duty of intellect to direct these sentiments to their proper objects; and that intellect obtains its own illumination from the study of nature, or from revelation. I regarded the province of the latter to be, to communicate information which the intellectual faculties, unaided, could not reach; while the province of reason is to unfold the character and will of God, in so far as these are discoverable in the works of creation. I observed, that on this account, natural theology must always keep pace with natural science; science being merely a methodical unfolding of what God has done and instituted in creation. Hence I inferred that our notions of the character of God will be more correct and sublime, in proportion as we become better acquainted with his works; and that our perception of our duties will be clearer and more forcible, in proportion as we compare correctly our own constitution with his other natural institutions. I concluded the last Lecture by observing that natural theology is in reality extremely prolific in precepts, and imperative in enforcing obedience, whenever we know how

to read the record. In elucidation of this remark, I shall now compare the ten commandments with the dictates of natural theology, and you shall judge for yourselves whether the same law is not promulgated in both. In order to see the precept, however, in natural theology, be it remembered, that you must be able to read the record in which it is written; that is to say, you must understand the constitution of the external world, and that of your own nature, to such an extent as to be capable of perceiving what God intended that a rational being, capable of comprehending both, should do, and abstain from doing, in consequence of that constitution. If you are ignorant of this natural record, then the duties which it contains will appear to you to be mere fancies, or gratuitous assumptions; and the observations which I am about to make will probably seem irreverent, if not unfounded. But with every indulgence for the ignorance of God's natural institutions, in which the imperfections of our education have left most of our minds, I beg to be forgiven for not bowing before the decisions of that ignorance, but to be permitted to appeal to the judgment of men possessing the most extended knowledge. If there be individuals here who have seriously studied natural science, and also the structure and functions of the human body, and the nature and functions of the mind as revealed by Phrenology, I submit myself to their judgment. They have learned to read the record of natural theology, and have prepared their minds by knowledge to interpret it aright, and their opinions are deserving of more consideration than those of other individuals, who have never turned their attention to the subject.

The ten commandments are received as divine, on the authority of the book of Exodus, which narrates that they were delivered by God himself to Moses,

written on tablets of stone. If we find that every one of them is written also by the finger of God in the human constitution, and is enjoined by natural religion, this cannot diminish the authority of the record of revelation, but must add to its sanction, by shewing nature to harmonize with its dictates.

The first commandment is, "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me."

This forbids an abuse of Veneration; and all nature, when rightly understood, proclaims one God, and enforces the same commandment. The nations who are lost in superstition and given up to idolatry, are profoundly ignorant of natural science. In proportion as we become acquainted with nature, the authority of this commandment in natural religion becomes stronger and stronger.

The second, "Thou shalt not bow down thyself to serve them," &c.

This is a repetition or amplification of the same precept.

Third—"Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain."

This is still directed against an abuse of Veneration. As soon as the intellect is enlightened in regard to the real attributes of the Deity, by natural religion, the reverence and obedience to him, and the avoidance of idolatry, profanity, and swearing, prescribed by these commandments, are felt to be irresistibly right, and conform to the dictates of the natural law.

Fourth—"Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy," &c.—"In it thou shalt not do any work," &c.

This enjoins giving rest to the muscular frame on the seventh day, that the brain may be able to manifest the moral and intellectual faculties with more complete effect. It ordains also, that on that day the

moral and intellectual faculties shall be exclusively devoted to the study and contemplation of God and his works, and to the doing of his will.

Every line of our bodily and mental constitution coincides with this precept. Phrenology, which is a branch of natural philosophy, shews that the mind depends for its powers of acting on the state of the brain, and that if constant muscular labor be endured, the brain will be inert, and all our moral, religious, and intellectual faculties will become obtuse and dull: or, that if we indulge in ceaseless mental exertion, we shall exhaust and weary out our brains by direct over activity, and become at length incapable of all beneficial application to moral and religious duties. Thus the obligation to rest, in due season, is written as clearly in our constitution, as in the fourth commandment.

Indeed, our natural constitution commands not only an extent of repose from labor equal to that prescribed by the commandment, but greatly more. It imposes on us the duty of resting from labor several hours every day in our lives, and dedicating them to the study and practice of the will of God, as written in creation and in his word. It prescribes an observance of the seventh day, however, somewhat modified from that taught by human interpreters of the fourth commandment. On this subject, the New Testament is silent, so that the *mode* of observing Sunday is left to the discretion of men. Our Scottish divines, in general, forbid walking or riding, or any other form of exercise and recreation on Sundays, as a contravention of the fourth commandment. God, in our constitution, on the other hand, proclaims that while incessant labor, through its influence on the mental organs, blunts our moral, intellectual and religious faculties, abstinence from all bodily exertion, and the practice of incessant mental application for

one entire day, and even on religion, are also injurious to the welfare of both body and mind, and that on the seventh day, there is no exception to the laws which regulate our functions on other days. These require that air, exercise, and mental relaxation should alternate with moral, religious, and intellectual studies. Accordingly, natural theology teaches us to transfer a portion of the Sunday's rest and holiness to every one of the other days of the week, and to permit on the Sundays as much of air, exercise, and recreation as will preserve the mental organs in the best condition for performing their moral, religious and intellectual duties. You are aware, that on the continent of Europe, the Sunday is devoted, to some extent, to recreation. This may be carried too far there, but unless God's word be meant to abrogate the law written by him in our constitution, we, in Scotland, have erred a little in the opposite extreme. The force of this observation can be appreciated only by those who are thoroughly acquainted with the physiology of the brain. The difference between the expounder of God's word, and him who unfolds his natural laws, is this: The former, when he departs from the natural laws, can enforce his interpretations of scripture only by an arm of flesh. If men refuse to forego air, exercise, and recreation on the seventh day, the divine may refuse them church privileges, or call in the police to fine and imprison them; but he can do no more. He cannot change the nature of the mind and body; nor will the Creator punish the people for not acting as he desires them, in opposition to the natural law. The interpreter of God's natural law, on the other hand, can wield no arm of flesh; but he is enabled to point to the power of God, enforcing the divine laws, and to demonstrate that punishment is inseparably connected with infringement;

and reward with obedience. The expounder of scripture, who, without inquiring what God has commanded in his natural laws, goes to parliament, and prays for authority to enforce his own interpretation of the fourth commandment, on his country, is met by hostile opposition, ridicule, and aversion;*—he is astonished at what he regards as the perverse and irreligious character of legislators, and ascribes their conduct to the corruption of human nature. It is the arm of the Deity that opposes him. His scheme, in so far as it prohibits wholesome recreation, is in opposition to the divine laws written in the nature of man;—that nature speaks by its instincts with a thousand tongues; and his object is baffled by a might which he neither sees nor comprehends.

This appears to me to be the real cause of the bad success in parliament of the Sabbath observance bills. They clearly conform to nature in so far as they prohibit compulsory labor on that day; but they certainly depart from the laws written by God in our constitution, when they tend to discourage and prohibit that extent of recreation on Sundays, which a corporeal frame like ours demands, and without which, the mind, while dependent on the brain for its energy, cannot put forth its fullest vigor either in morals, religion or science. I fear that these ideas may appear startling to some of my present audience, who have not studied the connection of the brain with the mind; but believing them to be correct interpretations of the divine will, I should feel myself guilty of moral cowardice, if I forebore to bring them under your notice.

When, on the other hand, the expounder of scripture

* At the time the text was written, Sir Andrew Agnew was beseeching parliament to pass a bill for the better observance of the Sabbath.

interprets according to God's law as revealed in nature, he is backed and supported by the whole weight of the divine power and authority in creation, and his precepts become irresistible. He needs no act of parliament, and no police to enforce his edicts. The Lord of heaven and earth, who proclaimed the laws, carries them into execution.

The fifth commandment is, "Honor thy father and thy mother."

This enjoins an exercise of Veneration towards parents. Natural theology enforces this precept in the most direct and efficacious manner. There is an organ of Veneration prompting us to respect virtue, wisdom, and experience, and our parents are among its natural objects. There is one modification, however, of it, which natural theology points out, not expressed, although implied, in the fifth commandment, —Parents must render themselves legitimate objects of veneration, by manifesting superior moral, intellectual and religious qualities and attainments, before they are authorized to expect the sentiment to be directed towards them by their offspring.

The sixth commandment is, "Thou shalt not kill."

This forbids an abuse of Destructiveness. In natural theology we find that the dictates of Benevolence, Veneration, and Conscientiousness, all conspire with the commandment in forbidding violence; and moreover, Combativeness and Destructiveness, lend their aid in enforcing the precept, because they prompt society to retaliate and slay the killer.

The seventh commandment is, "Thou shalt not commit adultery."

This forbids an abuse of Amativeness. In natural theology, the whole moral sentiments conjoin in the same prohibition; and they and the intellect carry the restrictions and directions greatly farther.

They prohibit marriages, at ages too early and too late;—of persons related in blood; of persons who possess imperfect or immoral developments of brain; of individuals while laboring under any great constitutional malady. In short, natural theology interdicts many abuses of Amativeness not mentioned, either in the Old or New Testament, and it shows its authority in the natural laws for its requirements. The disregard with which the dictates of natural theology in this department are treated, is to be traced to profound ignorance that God has issued the prohibitions. We are not yet accustomed to regard nature as a revelation of God's will, or to direct our conduct by it; but this is either our fault or our misfortune, and it is wrong.

The eighth commandment is, "Thou shalt not steal."

This forbids an abuse of Acquisitiveness. In natural theology, Conscientiousness and all the other moral sentiments concur in the denunciation of theft, and the intellect points out to the culprits that the individuals who are the subjects of his depredations, will visit him with punishment which must necessarily prove painful to himself.

The ninth commandment is, "Thou shalt not bear false witness."

This forbids the action of the other faculties without the control of Conscientiousness; all the moral sentiments proclaim the same prohibition.

The tenth commandment is, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house," &c.

This forbids an abuse of Acquisitiveness, and of the faculty of Self-Esteem in its form of self-love, seeking gratification at the expense of others.

These precepts are enforced in natural theology by the dictates of the whole moral sentiments, and

also by the arrangements of the social world, which bring evil on those who contravene them.

Trying the ten commandments, then, by the standards of natural theology, we see no reason whatever, to question their inherently divine character; we find them all written in the other record of the divine will, that of creation. I may observe, however, that they are not complete: first, as rules of duty; for they do not forbid in express terms, abuses of Philoprogenitiveness, Adhesiveness, Self-Esteem, Love of Approbation, Benevolence, and many other faculties; and secondly, they do not expressly enjoin the *direct exercise* of any faculty except that of Veneration. There is no commandment directly enjoining the exercise of Benevolence, Conscientiousness and Intellect, or commanding legitimate uses of Philoprogenitiveness, Adhesiveness, Cautiousness, &c. The Christian revelation far excels the Mosaic law in supplying these deficiences. First, Christ forbids the abuses of *all* our faculties; and secondly, He enjoins the active and legitimate *exercise* of them all; and thirdly, He clearly proclaims the supremacy of the moral sentiments, or teaches the duty of loving our neighbors as ourselves. In one and all of these precepts, natural theology coincides with, and enforces his commands. Want of time prevents me from shewing this in detail, but you can have no difficulty in following out the subject yourselves with the lights which you now possess.

It has been stated as an insuperable objection to these views, that they exclude the practice of prayer, praise and devotion, entirely. If God govern by general and immutable laws, it is asked, what is the object or advantage of offering him any homage or service whatever? The doctrine that God is immutable, that he governs by general laws, and that our

prayers have no effect on him, has actually been maintained by Scottish divines, objected to as heresy, discussed in the spiritual courts, and decided in favor of the philosophy which I now teach. The following quotations appear in the "Constitution of Man;" but as this volume may be read by persons who do not possess that work, I have judged it advisable to reprint them here. In a sermon on Prayer, by the Rev. William Leechman, D. D., Principal, and Professor of Divinity in the College of Glasgow, the following passage occurs:

"It is objected, that since God is infinite in goodness, he is always disposed to bestow on his creatures whatever is proper for them; and, since he is infinite in wisdom, he will always choose the fittest time, and best manner of bestowing it. To what purpose, then, do we entreat him to what he certainly will do, without any solicitation or importunity? To this it may be answered, that, as it is not the design of prayer to give information to our Creator of things he was not acquainted with before; so neither is it the design of it to move his affections, as good speakers move the hearts of their hearers, by the pathetic arts of oratory, nor to raise his pity as beggars, by their importunities and tears, work upon the compassion of the by-standers. God is not subject to those sudden passions and emotions of mind which we feel, nor to any change of his measures and conduct by their influence; he is not wrought upon and changed by our prayers; for *with him there is no variableness, nor shadow of turning*. Prayer only works its effect upon *us*, as it contributes to change the temper of *our* minds, to beget or improve right dispositions in them, to lay them open to the impressions of spiritual objects, and thus qualify us for receiving the favor and approbation of our Maker, and all those assistances which he has

promised to those who call upon him in sincerity and truth. The efficacy of prayer does not lie in the mere asking, but in its being the means of producing that frame of mind which qualifies us to receive." (*Dr. Leechman's Sermons, London,* 1789. *Sermon III. p.* 192.)

Dr. Leechman was prosecuted for the alleged heresy of these doctrines, before the presbytery of Glasgow, in February 1744. The opinion of the presbytery was unfavorable, but the question was carried by appeal to the Synod, which "found no reason to charge the said professor with any unsoundness in the faith, expressed in the passages of the sermon complained of." The case was afterwards moved by a second appeal to the general assembly. "That court," says Dr. Wodrow, in his Life of Dr. Leechman, prefixed to the Sermon, "when the cause came before them, wisely referred it to a select committee, and adopted their judgment without a vote. They found, 'that the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr had sufficient reason to take into their own hands the cognizance of the inquiry touching the sermon.' They confirmed the judgment passed by that Synod, and 'prohibited the presbytery of Glasgow to commence or carry on any further, or other proceedings against the professor on account of that sermon.'"

Since this decision, the views delivered by Professor Leechman have been unhesitatingly taught by Scotch divines. Dr. Blair, in one of his sermons says, "Accident, and chance, and fortune, are words which we often hear mentioned, and much is ascribed to them in the life of man. But they are words without meaning; or, as far as they have any signification, they are no other than names for the unknown operations of Providence. For it is certain, that in

God's universe, nothing comes to pass causelessly or in vain." *(Sermon 89.)*

Dr. Blair, in his sermon "On the Unchangeableness of the Divine nature," observes, "It would be proper to begin this head of the discourse by removing an objection which the doctrine I have illustrated may appear to form against religious services, and in particular against the duty of prayer. To what purpose, it may be urged, is homage addressed to a Being whose purpose is unalterably fixed; to whom *our righteousness extendeth not;* whom by no arguments we can persuade; and by no supplications we can mollify? The objection would have weight, if our religious addresses were designed to work any alteration on God; either by giving him information of what he did not know, or by exciting affections which he did not possess; or by inducing him to change measures which he had previously formed. But they are only crude and imperfect notions of religion, which can suggest such ideas. The change which our devotions are intended to make, is upon ourselves, not upon the Almighty. Their chief efficacy is derived from the good dispositions which they raise and cherish in the human soul. By pouring out pious sentiments and desires before God, by adoring his perfection and confessing our own unworthiness, by expressing our dependence on his aid, our gratitude for his past favors, our submission to his present will, our trust in his future mercy, we cultivate such affections as suit our place and station in the universe, and are thereby prepared for becoming objects of the divine grace." *(Vol. II.)*

The same views were taught by the philosophers of the last century. "The Being that made the world," says Lord Kames, "governs it by laws that are inflexible, because they are the best; and to im-

agine that he can be moved by prayers, oblations, or sacrifices, to vary his plan of government, is an impious thought, degrading the Deity to a level with ourselves." His lordship's opinion as to the advantage of public worship, shews that he did not conceive the foregoing views of prayer to be in the least inconsistent with its reasonableness and utility. "The principle of devotion," he says, "like most of our other principles, partakes of the imperfection of our nature; yet, however faint originally, it is capable of being greatly invigorated by cultivation and exercise. Private exercise is not sufficient; nature, and consequently the God of nature, require public exercise, or public worship: for devotion is communicative, like joy or grief; and, by mutual communication in a numerous assembly, is greatly invigorated. A regular habit of expressing publicly our gratitude and resignation never fails to purify the mind, tending to wean it from every unlawful pursuit. This is the true motive of public worship; not what is commonly inculcated—that it is required from us as a testimony to our Maker of our obedience to his laws. God, who knows the heart, needs no such testimony."*

The following sentiments on this subject are expressed in Theological Lectures at Westminster Abbey, by John Heylyn, D. D , Prebendary of Westminster, and Rector of St. Mary-le-Strand.†

Discoursing "concerning prayer," Vol. I. p. 94, he says, "*Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him.* These words are highly instructive, and may serve to give us a solid and practical knowledge of the true nature of prayer. The proper end of prayer is not to inform God of our

* Sketches, B. III. Sk. 3. ch. iii. § 1.

† 1749—Tonson and Draper in the Strand, 46.

wants, nor to persuade him to relieve them. Omniscient as he is, he cannot be informed. Merciful as he is, he need not be persuaded. The only thing wanting is a fit disposition on our part to receive his graces. And the proper use of prayer is to produce such a disposition in us as to render us proper subjects for sanctifying grace to work in, or in other words, to remove the obstacles which we ourselves put to his goodness."

The objection that natural theology excludes devotion and praise, is equally unfounded. It clearly excludes both, with the object of gratifying the Creator by expressing to him our approbation of his works and government, as we would seek to please an earthly sovereign by addresses conveying to him our favorable opinion of his measures. But if our moral and religious sentiments be deeply penetrated with a sense of our own absolute dependence on his power, and with admiration of his greatness and goodness;—if our intellects be imbued with the profoundest perceptions of his wisdom;—if our whole faculties flow towards his laws and institutions, with the most earnest desire to know, and to obey them;—and if we have been created social beings, so that our souls expand in vigor; augment in vivacity, and rise into higher sublimity, by being manifested in the presence of each other, it appears to me that every form of worship and devotion, which shall give expression to these states of mind, is not only permitted, but enjoined by natural religion. It teaches us, however, humbly to regard ourselves, as enjoying a vast privilege, and reaping an unspeakable enjoyment, in being thus permitted to lift up our minds to God; and it dashes away the thought, as impious and unwarrantable, that by our devotions we can render God happier, or better; or pay back, by any service of ours, his boundless

gifts to us. Natural theology also puts to flight every conception of our pleasing God by professions of respect which we do not feel, or of propitiating his favor by praises of his laws, while we neglect and infringe them. In short, it renders the practice of our duty at once an indispensable test of the sincerity and the reward of our devotions. This appears to me to be also the essential character of christianity.

You will observe that in this summary there is no notice of punishment and reward in a future state, and no intimation of means by which we may obtain forgiveness for transgressions of God's commandments. Natural theology appears to me to be silent on these topics, and they constitute the peculiar and proper subject of revelation.

LECTURE XX.

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

In concluding these Lectures, I beg your attention to a denouncement of the whole course of study in which we have been engaged, which appeared in the prospectus of the Christian Herald.* "All sorts of literary machinery, newspapers, lectures, treatises, magazines, pamphlets, school books, libraries of knowledge, for use or for entertainment, are most diligently and assiduously set in motion, if not for purposes directly hostile to the gospel, at least on the theory that men may be made good and happy without the gospel; nay, though the gospel were forgotten as an old wives' fable. It were well if they who know the wretched infatuation of such views, were alive to the importance of at least attempting to set similar machinery in motion, for the production of a religious impression."—These words emanated from no obscure fanatics, but bear the names of some of the leading men of the Church of Scotland of our own day. The prospectus continues—"It is impossible, even if it were desirable, to check the current of cheap popular literature; but it may be possible, through faith and

* The Christian Herald is a cheap weekly periodical, conducted by members of the Church of Scotland, and devoted exclusively to religion. The prospectus was issued in January, 1836.

prayer, to turn it more nearly into a right channel." The impossibility of *checking*, is here assigned as the paramount reason for attempting to direct the current; whence we may infer that these respectable divines would have stopped it, if they could. Let us inquire, therefore, with becoming reverence, but with the freedom of men who have the privilege of thinking for themselves, into the grounds of these opinions and charges.

In my eighteenth Lecture I introduced a simile of an angel being sent from heaven to teach a heavenly choral symphony to men, in order to prepare them, on entering the realms of bliss, to join in the strains of their new abode; and observed that this might be conceived without imagining the angel to create new faculties; his object being only to elevate, quicken, and improve those that existed in human nature. I used this as an illustration of the relation in which the truths communicated by Revelation stand to the moral and intellectual faculties of man. They are truths which our unaided faculties could not discover, but they are *adapted* to these faculties. We perform a pilgrimage on earth, on our way to heaven, and revelation is addressed to us as inhabitants of earth. Its communications do not create new powers and organs in us; they only purify, exalt, and guide those which we previously possessed. I observed farther, that those individuals who possessed the largest and the best cultivated organs of Time and Tune, would be in the best condition to profit by the angel teacher's instructions; and I now add that those individuals who enjoy the most vigorous and best exercised moral and intellectual faculties, will, in my opinion, be best prepared to profit by the lessons of revelation.

How would it strike you, then, if the angel teacher

were to reproach the human professors of music, whom he found on earth instructing their pupils in the best music which they knew, and teaching them the practice of the art, with the offence of treating the divine symphony as an old wives' fable? They might most reasonably answer, "Oh angel of light, we and our pupils are humble men, and we do not enjoy the benefits of inspiration. We cannot cause the solemn organ to roll forth its pealing strains, until we have studied its stops, and accustomed our mortal fingers to press its keys. We cannot make the dorian flute breathe its soft melodies, until we have learnt its powers, and practised the delicate movements, without which it yields only discordant sounds. We mean no disrespect to your heavenly air, but we mortal men cannot at all produce music, until the mental faculties and bodily organs on which music depends, have been trained to the art, and we are now instructing ourselves in our own humble way. We are exercising our mental faculties and our physical powers, to bring them into a condition to hear, feel, comprehend, and execute the exalted duty which you assign to us. Do not, then, Oh blessed angel, reprimand us, for acting according to our nature; help and encourage us, and you will discover, that those of us who have most assiduously studied and practised our mortal music, will most readily and successfully acquire your heavenly strains."

The angel might blush at this reproof. But the simile is applicable to the divines who now denounce us, the teachers of natural science, as guilty of impiety. The truths of Revelation are addressed to the identical faculties with which we study human science. They are the same intellectual powers which judge of the evidence and import of Revela-

tion, and of the truths of Chemistry, Geology, and Phrenology; and they are the same moral and religious sentiments which glow with the love of the God of Revelation, and with that of the God of natural Religion: nay, not only are the faculties the same, but their object is the same. There are not two Gods, but one God, whose character is identical in both of the records of his will. Revelation does not act miraculously in our day: and unless, therefore, the sentiments and intellectual powers to which it is addressed be previously cultivated by exercise, and illuminated by knowledge, its communications fall on stony ground and take no root. In May, 1835, the missionary, Dr. Duff, told the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, that in consequence of the minds of the Hindoos being entirely deficient in this previous training and exercise, the gospel appeared to them actually like an old wives' fable. He preached it in its purity and its might, yet it fell dead on their ears; and was lost. What remedy did he propose? To do the very thing for which we are now vituperated by our most reverend pastors; he begged of the assembly to provide funds to enable him to teach the rudiments of physical science, and the elements of useful knowledge to the Hindoos, to prepare them for comprehending the gospel. And he was right. The elements of science are the truths of God deliberately adapted by him to the constitution of the human faculties, just as the atmosphere is adapted by him to the human lungs, and the lungs to it. As the lungs are invigorated by respiring atmospheric air, so are the moral and intellectual faculties rendered alert and energetic, and prepared at once to discriminate and appreciate truth, by the study of natural science. On the other hand, until they be so cultivated and quickened, they are the ready dupes of superstition, and

are not prepared to reap the full benefit even of Revelation. Reflect on the state of Spain, Portugal and Italy, and you will learn the consequences of profound ignorance of natural science on the religious condition of the people. Gross superstition holds the place of rational devotion, and senseless ceremonies are the substitutes for substantial morality.

Our own population are more enlightened than the people of these countries, but they still continue too ignorant of natural science, and, particularly of the philosophy of the mind. As neither they nor their clerical teachers appear to give due effect to the truth which I am now expounding, that christianity requires cultivated faculties, before it can produce its full practical benefits; I beg leave to illustrate this proposition a little more in detail.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, divines and the people at large, both in England and Scotland, were in full possession of the scriptures. The reformation was completed, and printing was in active operation; yet, in these centuries, clergymen sat as judges, and condemned old women to the flames as witches. Now, what was the cause of this barbarity? At that time there was neither physical nor mental science; the phenomena of nature were believed to be under the influence of magicians, of evil spirits, and of the devil; and those unhappy victims of cruelty, ignorance and superstition, were believed to be in league with these powers of darkness. It was the dawn of physical philosophy, which opened up physical creation to the human intellect, and revealed it as the vast domain of God; whereas, before that dawn, ignorant divines, with the Bible in their hands, had mistaken it for the patrimony of the devil. It was science that delivered the clergy and their flocks from the practice of atrocious cruelties, from which the

unaided Bible had not sufficed to protect them. It is no disparagement to the Bible to say this, because it was never intended to supersede the study of God's will as revealed in the records of creation, and in falling into superstition, the clergy and people were suffering the penalty of having omitted to discharge that duty to God and to themselves.

Again,—I mentioned to you at an early stage of these lectures, that when the city of Rome was threatened with cholera, in the year 1835, the Pope and Cardinals carried a black image of the Virgin in solemn procession through the streets; while *our* public authorities, in similar circumstances, cleaned the whole city from filth, purified the alleys and confined courts by fumigation, provided wholesome food and clothing for the poor, and organized hospitals for the reception of the sick! What was the cause of this difference of conduct? Our clergy represent the cause of this proceeding of the Italians to be their want of the Bible: This is one cause; but it is notorious, that both in our own country and in Protestant Germany, although the laity enjoyed the scriptures, they continued superstitious, fierce, and cruel, until human science dawned on their minds, and co-operated with the Bible in developing the spirit of christianity. The Roman people are grossly ignorant of physiology and the laws of animal economy, and their dull minds perceived no connection between the disease and the condition of their bodies. Edinburgh, on the contrary, was the seat of an enlightened medical school, and there were a great number of men who saw the connection between impure air, filth, low diet, and deficient clothing, and disease of every kind; and they, therefore, although as ignorant as the Pope himself, of the special causes of the cholera, knew perfectly how to operate in conformity with the general principles of health:

and they were aware, that whatever tended to promote the strength of the body and the tranquility of the mind, would serve to abate the virulence even of an unknown disease. The procession of the Virgin, therefore, would here have been regarded as a mockery of the human understanding, and an insult to the majesty of heaven. But how have we come to entertain views so much more rational than those of our Roman brethren? Not by studying the scriptures; because the scriptures are not designed to teach truths which we can discover by the exercise of our own understanding; but by the study of the anatomy and physiology of the body, and the laws of the animal economy in general. Part of the course of instruction offered to you by this Association * has been that very science which led to these wise measures, and we know the beneficial results which attended them. The cholera has not yet actually visited Rome, and no doubt his Holiness is triumphing in the success of his intercessions; but we have observed that the disease moves by unknown laws, that it occasionally passes over a city for a time, and returns back upon it with the full force of its destructive influence. Rome, therefore, waits her time; Edinburgh has met the evil, and triumphed over it. Every one will admit, that the citizens of Edinburgh acted the more purely christian part in this emergency. Yet their superior knowledge of physical science was the great cause of their superior christian practice. Why then should our clerical guides charge us with contempt of revelation, because we teach the people the very knowledge which serves to render them willing, able, and intelligent co-operators with the plans of provi-

* "The Philosophical Association" of Edinburgh.

dence in the natural world; which guards their minds from becoming the slaves of gross superstitions; and which, by cultivating their moral and intellectual faculties, renders them apt scholars of the divine precepts of christianity?

But I am led to believe that Phrenology and the doctrine of the natural laws have particularly induced the displeasure of these clerical guides, and that phrenologists are considered to be particularly chargeable with the sin of aiming at making men "good and happy without the gospel." It is agreeable to find that we are charged with no worse offence, than attempting to make men "good and happy," even although our method of doing so be disapproved of. But I am prepared to join issue with them on this charge also. What does Phrenology teach? It teaches the nature, functions, uses and abuses of each of our faculties; it shows us that the moral and intellectual powers are given to guide our inferior feelings; and it informs us that we must observe the organic laws in order to preserve our brains in health; otherwise, that our mental powers will be impeded in their action. It leads us, in short, to study *ourselves*, and our relations to the external world, and to practise the duties thence discoverable, as acts of obedience to the will of God. The result is, that instead of being lost in a mist of vague notions of what constitutes sin, and what righteousness, our disciples are enabled clearly and definitely to distinguish good from evil, in the uses and abuses of their natural faculties: Instead of wandering amidst dark superstitions, and perhaps praying to God for health, or other benefits, yet blindly neglecting every law of physiology on which health, or the realization of their *other* desires depends, they recognize the imperative necessity of first obeying God's laws of health estab-

lished in their constitution, or his other natural laws related to the objects prayed for, and then, and then only, do they venture to approach him for his blessing and his benefits. Instead of seeing in the external world only a vast confusion of occurrences, in which sometimes the good triumph, and sometimes the wicked,—in which the imagination is bewildered, and the moral affections disappointed in not recognising God,—they, by being taught the spheres of action of the different natural laws, by being instructed to trace their relations, and by being made aware that each acts independently of itself, and produces its own consequences of good or evil,—have their eyes opened to the magnificent spectacle of a world full of the wisdom and goodness of God, pervaded in every department by an intelligible and efficient government, and the whole tending regularly and systematically to favor virtue, and to punish vice. They recognise the duties of temperance and activity; of moral, intellectual and religious cultivation; of affection to kindred, of the love of mankind, and of God; and, above all, of obedience to God's will,—to be engraven on their bodily and mental constitutions, and to be enforced by the whole energies of the external creation. Is it then treating the gospel as an old wives' fable, to teach the people such knowledge as this? Is it "a wretched infatuation" on our part thus to prepare the mind, by a most pure, invigorating and elevating cultivation, to receive, profit by, and practise, the precepts of that very gospel itself? And what are these divines themselves doing?

I find, in a Review of the Christian Herald in a London newspaper,* the following most apposite remarks on this subject: "The natural world is too

* The Courier of 17th March, 1836.

interesting to the human intellect to be quietly laid on the shelf, or to be forgotten, as an old wive's fable, and inquiring minds will continue to study it in spite of denunciations such as those now cited. If the divines do not connect christian theology with philosophy and science, they will every year find a spirit gaining strength against them, which will ultimately compel them to follow this course, at whatever trouble and disappointment to themselves. In this Journal (the Christain Herald,) they treat the whole material creation with exactly the same neglect with which they accuse the authors of worldly literature and science, of treating Revelation; and with less show of reason. Scientific writers are entitled to say that this world comes first, and that in unfolding its philosophy, they are preparing the way for the clergy to teach the doctrines that relate to futurity. But the clergy, in proceeding at once to the concerns of the next world, begin at the end. They proceed to tell the people how to reap the harvest, without teaching them how to cultivate and manure the soil, and how to sow the seed." These remarks are so directly applicable to the point under consideration, that I could not add to their force. I only remark, further, that I have hitherto abstained from retaliation for the condemnation poured out against these lectures from the pulpit * and the press, and all that I now do is, respectfully to beg of you to consider, whether, if it be a truth in nature, that large, energetic, and well exercised moral and religious organs are necessary to vigor of mind, and that obedience to God's natural laws is necessary to the profitable reception and practice of christianity, divines would not be better employed in enquiring patiently into

* While these lectures were in the course of being delivered, one of the ministers of Edinburgh preached against them.

the truth of these propositions,—and if they find them to be true, in teaching them, and encouraging others to teach them,—than in shutting their eyes against the palpable light of God, and denouncing us as unfaithful to his cause, when they themselves are only ignorantly vilifying his institutions.

Again, Phrenology shows that moral and religious sentiments enlightened by intellect have been intended to guide the inferior faculties of man, and by the study of political economy you will discover that the whole relations of the different members of the state, and also of different nations towards each other, uniformly produce good when they are in accordance with the dictates of these superior faculties, and evil and suffering when they deviate from them : that is to say, when the laws of any particular people approach to the closest conformity with the dictates of benevolence and justice, they become most beneficial for the whole public body, and when they depart from them, they become most injurious; also, when a nation in its treaties and relations with foreign states, acts on the principles of benevolence and justice, and limits its own exactions by these principles, it reaps the greatest possible advantages, while it suffers evil in proportion as it attempts to gain by selfishness, rapine, force or fraud. These truths, I say, are susceptible of absolute demonstration by the combined sciences of Phrenology, which proves the existence, nature, and objects of our moral faculties, and Political Economy, which unfolds the effects on human welfare of different institutions and systems of action. I appeal to every man, whether teachers of such doctrines are, or are not, preparing the public mind for the practical development of that grand christian condition of society, in which all men shall act as brothers and love their neighbors as themselves. Nay, not

only so, but I request of you to consider the futility of teaching these sublime precepts to a people left in the maze of selfishness, which is their inevitable condition until their minds be really enlightened to the truth, that the world is actually constituted in harmony with the dictates of the moral sentiments of man.

Your time will not permit me to extend these remarks farther, but nothing would be more easy than to trace the whole circle of sciences, and show how each of them is a pioneer to the practical development of Christianity. It is true that we do not carry them forward to these applications in our lectures, and I presume this is the ground-work of the charge against us: But why do we not do so? Because it is the peculiar and dignified province of divines themselves so to apply them. Would you reproach the ploughman who in spring tilled, manured, and sowed your field, because he had not in spring also, and with his plough for a sickle, reaped the crop? Equally unreasonable is this most unfounded charge against us. We are the humble husbandmen, tilling, manuring, and sowing the seeds of knowledge in the public mind, and to the clergy is allotted the more honorable charge of tending the corn in its growth and reaping the golden harvest.

It is certain that we journey through this life in our way to a future state, and that the cultivation of our mortal nature really bears the same relation to our preparation for eternity, that tillage and sowing in spring bear to the reaping of the fruits of harvest. It is clear, then, that if we are cultivating, enlightening and improving the mental powers of our audiences for this world, we are fitting them for the next; and that divines should dovetail their own instruction with ours, in so far as we disseminate truth, and should carry forward the pupils to whom we have taught the

rudiments of knowledge, to the full perfection of rational and christian men. But here the real cause of their hostility presents itself. They really do not yet know how to do so. Phrenology, which unfolds the functions, uses, and relations of the human faculties, and which, for the first time since man was created, enables him to discover his own position in the world which he inhabits, is a science, as it were, only of yesterday. It is a recent discovery; and divines, in general, know it not. Physiology, as a science of practical utility, is as young as Phrenology; because it could not advance to perfection while the uses of the brain, and its influence, as the organ of the mind, over the whole of the animal economy, were unknown.

Divines, therefore, do not yet know its relations to their own doctrines. Geology, which teaches the past history of the physical globe, is also but of yesterday: while Chemistry, and other physical sciences, are all of recent introduction to the intellects of the people. The idea of employing these sciences, at all, to the moral and intellectual improvement of the people at large, is new, and the notion of rendering that improvement subservient to christianity is newer still; and our clergy, in general, are yet strangers to both ideas. They are proceeding on a system of their own, which was instituted when all education for the common people consisted in reading and writing, and for the higher ranks in Greek and Roman literature; and they feel uneasy at discovering a vast stream of knowledge rolling along the public mind, which has not emanated from themselves, and with which their system is not yet connected. This is their misfortune; and we should bear their vituperations with equanimity, as the result of imperfect knowledge, in the assured confidence, that whenever they discover that they cannot arrest our course by fulminating against us, they will

profit by our labours and join our ranks, and that hereafter they and we shall be found laboring together for the public good. They and we are all engaged in one design. Theirs is the most exalted, most dignified, and most enviable vocation allotted to man; and I feel assured that in a few years, they will find their strength, usefulness, and pleasure, unspeakably augmented by the very measures which we are now pursuing, and which they, not knowing what they do, are vilifying and obstructing.

Here then I conclude this course of lectures It has embraced a mere sketch or outline of a mighty subject, and has been chargeable with many imperfections. I feel much gratified by the kind attention with which you have followed my observations. If they have conferred pleasure or instruction, my object will have been gained. If they shall prove the means of exciting your minds to follow out the study for your own improvement, I shall feel the highest satisfaction. I have spoken plainly and forcibly what appeared to myself to be true. If I have occasionally fallen into error, (as what mortal is free from liability to err,) I shall be anxious to obtain sounder and juster views, but if I have in other instances communicated a correct exposition of the order of the divine government of the world, and the principles of natural religion, I hope that you will neither be startled at the novelty, nor offended by the consequences of the ways of Providence, which I have expounded. You are aware of your own position. You are the first popular audience in this city to whom the truths and the consequences of the new philosophy of mind discovered by Dr. Gall, have been unfolded; and you are aware that in every age the most useful and important truths have had to contend with violent prejudices

when first promulgated. You have an admirable rule, however, prescribed to you for your guidance, in the advice given by Gamaliel to the high priest of the Jews. Acts v. 38. "If this council or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it." If I have truly interpreted to you any of the works and ways and laws of the Almighty, his arm will give efficacy to what He has done. If I have erred, my words will come to nought; and this is at once consolatory and pleasing; for while I shall be gratified in unfolding truth, I shall always rejoice to escape from error.

APPENDIX.

In the year 1826, I published, in the 3d vol. of the Phrenological Journal, an article on the "Causes of the Commercial Distress," which then afflicted Great Britain. All the observations which I have made since that time, have tended to confirm the views therein expressed. As the United States suffered severely in 1837 and 1839, from analogous causes, I present the article entire to the consideration of the American public.

It is a fundamental doctrine of ours, that the faculties common to man with the lower animals are inferior to those proper to man; and that the Creator has so arranged the world, that misery is the natural result of the predominance of the former, and happiness of the latter. We shall endeavor to apply these principles in accounting for the commercial distress which has of late so painfully engaged public attention.

In a period of profound peace, and immediately after one of the finest summers and most abundant harvests ever showered by a bountiful Providence on Britain, this country has been a theatre of almost universal misery. In October and November, 1825, stocks began to fall with alarming rapidity; in November, numerous bankers in London failed; in December the evil spread to the country bankers; in January and February, 1826, the distress overtook the merchants and manufacturers, thousands of them were ruined, and their workmen thrown idle; agricultural produce

began to fall, and suffering and gloom have extended over the whole empire. These events have carried intense misery into the bosoms of numberless families. The Phrenologist, who knows the nature of the propensities and sentiments, and their objects, is well able to conceive the deep, though often silent agonies that must have been felt when Acquisitiveness was suddenly deprived of its long collected stores;—when Self-esteem and Love of Approbation were in an instant robbed of all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of worldly grandeur, that, during years of fancied prosperity, had formed their chief sources of delight;—and when Cautiousness felt the dreadful access of despair at the ruin of every darling project. The laceration of those feelings hurried some unfortunate victims to suicide, and spread mental and bodily distress widely over the land. So dire a calamity indicates to our minds, in the most unequivocal manner, some grand departure from the just principles of political economy, or, in other words, from the dictates of the higher sentiments, which we hold to be the real basis of all sound political philosophy.

This distress appears to us to have originated in our paper currency, which, so far as we at present perceive, is founded in injustice, and which, consequently, is unsound, and dangerous in its consequences.

Suppose A. to possess £20,000 in money invested in land, houses, government stock, or some other fixed and productive form, yielding a return of 4 per cent., or £800 per annum; that he pledges this investment to the public, and is permitted on the security of it to issue bank notes to the value of £20,000; in this case real property could be made forthcoming in case of necessity to retire the notes, and, according to the general opinion, no harm would arise to the public from the transaction. Let us, however, trace out its effects.

Suppose A. to confine himself to the proper business of banking, and that he puts £20,000 in notes into circulation, he would draw first £800 a year of interest from his capital, and then £1000 a year of interest at 5 per cent. from his notes, in all £1,800 per annum. It is obvious that he could afford to discount bills with his bank notes, or lend them at interest at a lower

rate than if he carried on the same operations with real money, which could not both be laid out at 4 per cent. in land or stock, and remain at its owner's disposal, yielding 5 per cent. more at one and the same time. The moment, therefore, that A. with his notes comes into competition as a banker or money-lender with other individuals who employed real capital in these operations, he is able to beat them out of the market by lowering the rate of interest. If he draws 3 per cent. for his notes and 4 per cent of regular return from the invested capital, he will receive 7 per cent. in all, when other capitalists, who do not first invest their money productively, and then issue notes, are drawing only 3 per cent.

This is unjust; and yet this was the real state of matters during the prodigious fall of interest in 1824 and 1825. The bankers issued their paper in floods; and to keep it in circulation and increase its quantity, they lowered and lowered the rate of interest:—Nevertheless bank stock rose, trade increased, and every one seemed to flourish except the holders of money capital, who were impoverished by the impossibility of finding investments, or obtaining a moderate interest for their stock. The bankers were well able to do this; for those who had capital profitably invested to the extent of their notes, drew the above mentioned double return, and actually realized 7 or 8 per cent., when other capitalists were receiving only 3 or 4. Those bankers, again, (of whom there seem to have been many in England,) who had no invested capital or real stock of any kind, could discount bills with notes, or lend at a very low rate of interest; for, as their notes cost nothing beyond paper, engraving, printing, and stamp, and as they had nothing behind them to lose, whatever interest they received, if it exceeded these expenses, it was all gain.

From these principles it follows, that every man who first invests his capital productively, and then issues bank notes at interest on the credit of it, places himself in a situation of great advantage over those individuals who act as bankers, or lenders at interest, with money capital itself; and that the latter can never compete on equal terms with the former, except by investing their capital also in a productive form, and

issuing bank notes on the credit of it to the same extent with their rivals. If, to protect himself, every one were to issue notes to the extent of his invested capital, paper would become so redundant as to have scarcely any value, and would speedily be put down as a public nuisance; and yet, unless every man who possesses real property does this, he is injured by the issue of notes.

The effects of the paper system may be further illustrated. Let us suppose the trade of a country to be carried on by means of gold and silver as the medium of exchange; then the following results will take place. The precious metals are real commodities, which cannot be increased instantaneously to an unlimited extent. They are procured by labor, and require time for their increase. A small trade requires a small supply, while a great trade demands a proportionate quantity of them. If trade increases faster than the supply of gold and silver, they will become relatively scarce, and their value will rise; or, in other words, the price of goods will fall. This fall will check production until the supply of gold and silver has increased in proportion to the trade, when prices will again rise, and production will proceed.

According to this principle, while gold and silver are the circulating medium, full scope is given for a gradual production of wealth, because those metals can be increased by time and labor, in proportion to the increase of population, and the natural augmentation of commodities. At the same time a positive check to over-production in every branch of industry is supplied, because the metals cannot be instantaneously and indefinitely increased: whenever goods are produced with undue rapidity, money will become relatively scarce and prices will fall.

On the bank note system the order of nature is exactly reversed. If immense manufacturing, buying, and selling take place, even without corresponding consumption, bills are multiplied,—and when bills are multiplied, discounts increase,—and where these abound, the paper circulating medium increases; when the circulating medium increases prices rise; and hence we have the absurd anomaly of rising markets in the face of a most enormous over-production. We have also the

strange facts of interest falling as trade increases, and the difficulty of finding employment for capital reaching its acme when transactions to a most unwonted extent are going forward, requiring a vast amount of circulating medium. The result of this system renders the error of principle involved in it still more conspicuous. The bankers, tempted by the flood of wealth that flowed in upon them in the form of interest for their notes, preserved no bounds to their issues; they discounted bills at 6, 9 and 12 months date, lent on mortgages, and in England bought mills and lands, and even became manufacturers themselves. When their notes were returned, these securities were not convertible, the bankers failed, a panic arose, and paper was poured back upon them in a stream of frightful magnitude and extent. Those bankers, who had nothing to give in return for their notes, except the bills of merchants for which they had at first issued them, called on the merchants to pay; the latter, however, had nothing except the goods which the bills represented. The goods, unfortunately, had not been produced to meet the real wants of society, but had been fostered into existence by the temptation of profit, which dazzled first the manufacturer, and then the banker who discounted his bills; and at last, when the paper currency ceased to flow, and the goods were to be bought by real capital, they fell 50 per cent.; the merchants were unable to pay, and bankruptcy stalked far and wide over the land.

If, as in Scotland, the bankers had land, houses, stock, or other property behind their notes, they were able to make up the deficiency arising from the failure of the merchants; but they became alarmed at the extent of their losses, drew in their notes, lessened the circulating medium, and depressed the prices of goods to the lowest ebb. Real capital then came into request, interest rose, and £100 in real cash bought more goods than £150 did while the country was deluged with paper.

Matters will remain in this state until the stock of manufactured articles is brought below the natural demand; trade will then revive, and for a time be profitable; confidence will be restored, and bills again

be granted, discounts will follow, paper currency will increase, prices will continue to rise, production will be pushed to the last extremity, every thing will appear to flourish for a time, till another crash arrives, and then we shall be told about the calamities of life and commercial distress, and perhaps see a little deeper into the causes, and at length look for a remedy.

According to our view, instead of the abolition of one pound bank notes being an evil, the only fault of the measure is, that it does not go far enough, and do away with bank paper altogether. We fear that the national debt would become an intolerable burden if this was done; but, nevertheless, as long as we suffer a paper currency to exist,—a currency which can be produced without labor, and increased without limits, and which enables the issuer of it to reap *double* profits at the expense of those who do not issue bank notes,—so long will the nation be doomed to suffer the punishment which follows every departure from justice and sound principle. It has been said, that the holder of £20,000 of capital may lend this sum, and he will easily get credit for £20,000 more on the faith of it; and that thus he will be on a par with a banker who invests his capital, and then issues notes. But there is this difference: the banker and capitalist are, no doubt, on a par in both drawing a return for their £20,000, if they lend them; but when the latter goes to market and asks credit for £20,000 worth of goods, he has to pay the *credit* price, or 2 1-2 per cent. for three months, whereas the issuer of notes pays his notes for the goods, and gets this per-centage of discount. Here the injustice of the principle is equally obvious.

Our limits prevent us from tracing out all the evils of the paper system in their minute ramifications; but we take our stand here,—that its principles are unjust and unnatural, and that all its consequences must be evil. We proceed, therefore, to apply Phrenology to this subject. According to our view, the Creator has framed the world on the principle of the predominance of the higher sentiments; that is to say, if mankind will condescend to seek their chief gratifications in the exercise of Benevolence, Veneration, Conscientiousness, and Intellect, they will be exempt in an

amazing degree from calamity; while they will suffer continually recurring misery so long as they place their highest enjoyments in the gratification of the lower propensities. It is an undeniable fact, that the inhabitants of Britain generally, are involved in a chase of wealth, power, and personal aggrandizement, or the gratification of Acquisitiveness, Self-esteem, and Love of Approbation, to the exclusion of every thing like systematic cultivation of the proper human faculties before enumerated. Now, if our principle be correct, they never can be happy while this is the case. If the Creator have intended the higher powers to prevail, his whole arrangements must be in harmony with them, and the world must be so constituted that it is possible for every individual to reap the enjoyment for which existence is given. By the gratification of the higher powers, we do not mean mere psalm-singing and superstitious devotion, but enlightened religion, the exercise of habitual benevolence, justice, and respect between man and man, the reciprocal communication of knowledge, and the systematic exercise of the intellect in studying the laws of creation. For these ends a portion of time every day is requisite; but on the present system the whole energies, bodily and mental, of millions of our population, are expended in ministering to the gratification of Acquisitiveness, Self-esteem, Love of Approbation, and still lower animal propensities; and, if suffering follow this course of conduct, men have themselves alone to blame. If, by the arrangements of the Creator, the labor of six or seven hours a day is amply sufficient for the full satisfaction of every desire that mere physical objects can gratify, and if the other hours, not necessary for sleep, were intended for the exercise and gratification of the moral and intellectual powers,—then men, by devoting their whole time to the former, and neglecting the latter, must necessarily produce evil to themselves. Accordingly, this is the actual state and result of matters in Britain at the present time. The laboring population are forced to work ten or twelve hours a day; this creates a great redundancy of goods; then they are thrown entirely idle, and suffer infinite misery, and their masters are involved in bankruptcy and ruin. The bank notes,

by enabling the masters to force production at this rate, (which without them would be impossible,) greatly contribute to this evil. The Creator's laws at the same time, shew themselves paramount even in the breach of them; for if the months, days, and hours of idleness which follow regularly, on every stagnation of trade, had been distributed over the working days, they would have reduced each day's toil to the precise extent that was *really necessary* for the satisfaction of actual human wants;—and the same law will continue to rule the world whether men recognize it or not. If the masters could be persuaded to establish schools, libraries, and every means of moral and intellectual cultivation, and allow their workmen systematically to cultivate their human faculties for three or four hours a day, trade would go regularly on, there would be no gluts of the market, profits would be steady, crime would diminish, and a flood of moral and intellectual enjoyment would spread over the land, that would render earth the porch of heaven.

These ideas, we fear, will be regarded by many as Utopian; but we may notice a practical illustration of them, which, we think, will be generally recognized. By the combination laws, the workmen were punishable for joining together in a resolution to have their wages raised. This was clearly in opposition to justice. The wisdom of our present excellent ministers repealed this enactment. Last summer and autumn extensive combinations were formed among the operative workmen for a rise of wages, and they struck work for several months because their demands were not complied with. The masters and the conductors of the public press clamored against ministers, and complained that the country would be ruined if the law were not restored which enabled the employer to compel his servants to work at such wages as he chose to give. We noticed at the time that these complaints proceeded from shallow minds, and that the just law would ultimately prove the most beneficial. Already this prediction has been amply fulfilled. The demand for workmen last summer now turns out to have been entirely factitious, fostered by the bank notes; and the whole manufacturing districts to have been engaged in an excessive over-production. The combination

of the workmen was one of the *natural checks* to this erroneous proceeding; to have compelled them by force to work would have aggravated the evil; and it is a notorious fact, that those masters whose men stood longest out are now best off, for their stocks were sold off at the high prices of summer, and having been prevented from laying in more, they now rejoice when their fellows mourn. Glasgow has been saved a great deal of calamity by the workmen standing out so long. The practical men should confess this, and do justice at once to the laws of the Creator and the wisdom of ministers.

We close with a last example. Leather made from hides of *home-slaughter* has preserved its price, and continued steadily in demand amidst an extensive fall on leather of every other description; and the reason is, that as cattle are killed for their flesh, and not for their hides, the supply of these could not, by human contrivance, be increased in proportion to the cupidity of the manufacturers, but remained nearly stationary at the rate of the *natural demand.* Leather made from imported hides, which, under the impulse of Acquisitiveness, were procured from every corner of the earth, is of a different quality, and cannot be substituted for the other, and the stock of it is now excessively redundant, and the price ruinously low. Wherever the human intellect supplies the check that nature affords in the home hide trade, the results will be equally consolatory. The profits of that business, we are told, have been regular and steady; the stock, although lowered in value by the present crisis, is comparatively little depressed, and is said to be one of the safest and steadiest branches of manufacture at present prosecuted in Britain.

POSTSCRIPT.—The events which have occurred in Britain since 1826, when the preceding remarks were published, have afforded a striking confirmation of their truth. At the date of their publication, no political economist or manufacturer, to the best of my knowledge, recognized them as sound; but many persons now openly advocate them in England. At a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, held in Manchester in December, 1839, it was shewn that the sudden expansion of the currency, by the extensive issue of bank notes, raised prices of goods instantaneously;—while its contraction, by withdrawing them,

caused a depression of prices, in both instances, to the extent of 25 per cent. in a few months.

The State of New York presents the *beau ideal* of the paper currency system. It is a proverb in Britain, that a man cannot both "eat his cake and have his cake," but the legislators of that state have supposed it quite possible that a man may both expend his farm and have his farm. They have passed laws authorizing every man to pledge his real estate, or state stocks, with the Comptroller, and to receive from him bank bills to the extent of its value, which he may use as currency;—in other words, he may sow and reap his farm, and draw from it ten or twenty per cent. per annum of profit; while, at the same time, he is building houses, or ships, or mills, by means of the paper which represents its value. A man who borrows money on his farm, and employs it in building houses, or ships, or in commerce, pays *interest* to the lender, and he does not enjoy the advantage of having his estate and of spending it also. He, on the other hand, who pledges his farm with the *Comptroller*, converts his land directly into currency, and pays no interest; he both spends it and has it. It might be expected that every person desirous of becoming rapidly rich, would fly to the Comptroller, and by a touch of his magic pen, have his estate doubled; and accordingly, this actually happened. The Comptroller, in his report, states that a sort of mania for banking seized the people, after this law was passed, and that neither he nor his clerks could subscribe bank bills fast enough to answer the demand for them. And what was the consequence? Every description of property rose to exorbitant prices, and the wildest speculations, prompted by the sheer love of gain, were extensively entered into. Among other extravagant speculations, enormous quantities of goods were imported from Europe: England, running a similar course, fell into the same snare; she then contracted her paper issues, her merchants demanded payment from their American customers, and what had they to give? The Comptroller's bills would not be received as currency in England, and those who held them demanded specie to remit to that country, in extinction of their debts; but all the issuers of these bills were not prepared for this demand. Some of the banks fell prostrate, and the Comptroller sold their pledged property by auction, and redeemed their bills. They then found that they had really consumed their property, without intending to do so. The other banks now contracted their issues,—currency became scarce and dear,—speculations languished,—prices of goods fell;—and ruin stalked far and wide over the state. To have carried the principle to perfection, every man in the state should have pledged his whole property with the Comptroller, so far as receivable by law, received bills to the amount of its value, and with these paid his debts, made purchases, and conducted speculations. The whole property in the state would, by this means, have been at once doubled, if the principle be sound: In my apprehension, it would have been unchanged, but the currency would have been depreciated enormously, and nominal prices would have risen to an extravagant extent, afterwards to fall equally low.

New Haven, Conn. March 10, 1840.

THE SCHOOL ADVERTISER NO. II.
AUGUST, 1839.

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Man.—Effects of protracted Childhood on the Individual. Effects of protracted Childhood on the Parents and on Society. VII. SUNDAY.—*On Christian Love.*

AGRICULTURE.

The Difference between the Operations of Reason and Instinct, as affording Arguments in Favor of the Divine Perfections. Origin of Agricultural Labor. Origin of Property in the Soil, and the Division of Ranks. Effects of Property in the Soil. Benefits derived from the Principles which Stimulate Agricultural Improvement. The Blessings of Labor. VIII. SUNDAY.—*Spiritual Training by Affliction.* Nature of Soils. Formation of Soils. Management of Soils.—Draining. Irrigation. Blair-Drummond Moss. Products of the Soil.—Dissemination of Plants. IX. SUNDAY.—*The Sower.* Dissemination of Plants.—The Cocoa-Nut Tree. Mitigation of Seasons occasioned by Cultivation. The Labors of the Husbandman wisely distributed over the Year. The Corn Plants.—Their Mysterious Origin. Their Distribution over the Globe. Wheat. X. SUNDAY.—*Sabbath Morning.* The Corn-Plants.—Barley, Oats, Rice, Maize, and Millet. Leguminous Plants.—Peas and Beans. Esculent Roots.—The Potato. Vegetable Substances used for Weaving. The Flax Plant. XI. SUNDAY.—*True Science the Handmaid of Religion.* Vegetable Substances used for Weaving. The Cotton Plant. Vegetable Substances used for Cordage.—Hemp. Vegetable Substances used for Paper.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

The Sacrament of the Supper. The Crucifixion. The Grave. XII. SUNDAY.—*The Resurrection.*

ENJOYMENT EQUALLY DISTRIBUTED. THE ENJOYMENTS OF THE POOR IN SPRING. THE WOODS.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE ARGUMENT.

The Power and Intelligence of the Creator. The Goodness of the Creator. The Use and Deficiency of Natural Religion.

VOL. III.—SUMMER.

COSMICAL ARRANGEMENTS.

I. SUNDAY.—*Summer the Perfection of the Year.* Increased Heat. Internal Heat of the Earth. Increased Light. Electricity. Clouds. Dew. II. SUNDAY.—*Scriptural Allusions to the Dew.* Adaptations of the Faculties of Living Beings to the Properties of Light and Air.

VEGETABLES.

Growth of Vegetables. Principles on which Horticulture is founded. History of Horticulture. The Turnip. Brassica or Cabbage. III. SUNDAY.—*Spiritual Light.* Various Garden Vegetables. Flowers—The Rose. Fruits. Ingrafting. The Gooseberry and Currant. The Orchard. IV. SUNDAY.—*Spiritual Soil.* Productions of Warm Climates used for Human Food.—The Banana. The Date Palm. Trees used for other Purposes than Food. Vegetable Substances used in Tanning. Vegetable Fixed Oils. Vegetable Oils—Essential and Empyreumatic. Vegetable Tallow and Wax. V. SUNDAY.—*Spiritual Culture.* Vegetable Life in the Polar Regions.

ANIMALS.

Connexion between the Vegetable and Animal Kingdoms. The Sensorial Organs. Sensation and Perception. The Argonaut and Nautilus. The Coral Insect. VI. SUNDAY.—*The Invisible Architect.* Insect Transformations—Cocoons—The Silk-Worm. Insects—Their Larva State. Their Pupa or Chrysalis State. Their Imago or Perfect State. The Building Spider. Spider's Webb. VII. SUNDAY.—*Spiritual Transformation.* Insects—Legionary and Sanguine Ants. The Lion Ant—The Queen-Bee. Physiological Character of Vertebrated Animals. Reptiles—The Tortoise—The Serpent. VIII. SUNDAY.—*The Old Serpent.* Reptiles—The Saurian Tribes. Birds—Their Relative Position. The Bill. Their Power of Flying. Their Power of Vision. Their Voice. Their Selection of Food. IX. SUNDAY.—*The Ascension of Christ.* Birds—Their Gregarious Habits. Domestic Fowls—The Cock, the Turkey, and the Peacock. The Goose and the Duck. Birds of Prey—The Vulture. The Eagle. Predaceous Animals—Their

Offices in Nature. X. SUNDAY.—*Christ the Judge of the World.* Quadrupeds—Their Characteristics. Their Bodily Organs. The Bat. The Mouse. Ruminating—The Goat and Sheep. Sheep Shearing. XI. SUNDAY.—*Christ, the Good Shepherd.* Quadrupeds—The Shepherd's Dog. Ruminating—The Cow. Thick-skinned—The Hog. The Horse and Ass. The Elephant. Reflections on the Domestic Animals. XII. SUNDAY.—*The Destruction of the World, and the Renovation of the Human Frame in a Future State.* Fishes. Man—His External Structure. His Intellectual Powers. His Moral Powers. Physical Effects of Climate. Moral Effects of Climate. XIII. SUNDAY.—*The Confusion of Tongues.* Man—Human Language.

HAYMAKING—PLEASURES OF RURAL SCENERY.

THE VARIETY, BEAUTY, AND UTILITY OF ORGANIZED EXISTENCES.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE ARGUMENT.

Adaptation. Future Existence. Discipline.

XIV. SUNDAY.—*The Day of Pentecost—One Language.*

VOL. IV.—AUTUMN.

PHENOMENA, PRODUCE, AND LABORS OF THE SEASON.

General Character of Autumn. Autumn in the City. Famine in the beginning of Autumn. Autumnal Vegetation. Progress of Vegetation in the Corn Plants. Harvest. I. SUNDAY. *Stability of Nature.* Gleaning. The Harvest Moon. Harvest-Home. Storing of Corn. Birds.—Their State in Autumn.

THE WOODS.

Their Autumnal Appearance. II. SUNDAY.—*The Powers of the World to come.* The Woods. Their Uses. Various Kinds and Adaptations of Timber.

ORIGIN OF THE ARTS.—Food, Clothing, and Shelter.

HUMAN FOOD.

Its Principle. The Moral Operation of the Principle. Its Supply not inadequate. III. SUNDAY.—*Christians "Members one of another."* Provision for the future.—Soil still uncultivated. Improved Cultivation. Means now in Existence. Vegetable and Animal Food. Fruits—Their Qualities. Drink. IV. SUNDAY.—"*The Bread of Life.*" Milk. Wine. Tea and Coffee. Sugar. The Pleasures connected with Food. Comparison between the Food of Savage and Civilized Man. V. SUNDAY.—"*Give us this Day our daily Bread.*" Agriculture of the Greeks.—Their Harvest. Agriculture of the Romans. Their Harvest. Progress of British Agriculture. Modern Continental Agriculture.

HUMAN CLOTHING.

Its Principle. Its Primitive State. VI. SUNDAY.—*The Emptiness of Human Attainments.* Its Ancient History. Commercial History of the Raw Material. The Silk Manufacture.—Its Modern History. History of Mechanical Contrivances connected with it. Rearing of the Cocoons, &c. The Cotton Manufacture.—Its Foreign History. VII. SUNDAY.—*The Intellectual and Moral Enjoyments of Heaven.* The Cotton Manufacture.—Its British History. Improvement of Machinery. Its American History.—Introduction of Steam Power. The Woollen Manufacture.—Its History. The Art of Bleaching. The Art of Dyeing.—Its Origin and Ancient History. VIII. SUNDAY.—*The Social and Religious Enjoyments of Heaven.* The Art of Dyeing.—Its Modern History. Its Chemical Principles.

ARCHITECTURE.

Its Principle. Its original State.—Materials employed. Tools employed. Its Modifications by the Influence of Habit and Religion. IX. SUNDAY.—*The Children of the World wiser than the Children of Light.* Architecture.—Ancient History and Practice.—Egypt.—Thebes. The Pyramids. India.—Excavated Temples. Central Asia.—Tower of Babel, or Temple of Belus. Babylon. Nineveh. Petra. Greece. X. SUNDAY.—*Divine Strength made perfect in Human Weakness.* Rome. The Gothic Style. Britain. Bridges. Aqueducts. Railways. XI. SUNDAY.—*An Autumnal Sabbath Evening.* Prospective Improvement of Locomotive Power. Lighthouses—The Eddystone Lighthouse. The Thames Tunnel.

CLOSE OF AUTUMN.

Miscellaneous Reflections on Autumnal Appearances. The Landscape at the Close of Autumn. XII. SUNDAY.—*The Fall of the Leaf.*

GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT.

Government of the World by General Laws. Government of the World by a Particular Providence. Contrast between Savage and Civilized Life, as regards the Arts. As regards Domestic Comforts. As regards Commerce. As regards Moral Cultivation. XIII. SUNDAY.—"*The Harvest is the End of the World.*"

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CHAPTER I.

Outline of the History of the Arts in Ancient and Modern Times.

Arts of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Jews, Hindoos, Chinese, Greeks, Romans, Dark Ages, Modern Times, Nineteenth Century.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Materials used in the Arts.

Materials from the Mineral Kingdom—Stones and Earths—Marble, Granite, Sienite, Freestone, Slate, Soapstone, Serpentine, Gypsum, Alabaster, Chalk, Fluor Spar, Flint, Porphyry, Buhrstone, Novaculite, Precious Stones, Emery, Lead, Pumice, Tufa, Peperino, Tripoli, Clay, Asbestus, Cements, Limestone, Puzzolana, Tarras. *Other Cements*—Maltha. *Metals*—Iron, Copper, Lead, Tin, Mercury, Gold, Silver, Platina, Zinc, Antimony, Bismuth, Arsenic, Manganese, Nickel. *Combustibles*, &c—Bitumen, Amber, Coal, Anthracite, Graphite, Peat, Sulphur. *Materials from the Vegetable Kingdom*—Wood, Bark, Oak, Hickory, Ash, Elm, Locust, Wild Cherry, Chestnut, Beech, Basswood, Tulip Tree, Maple, Birch, Button Wood, Persimmon, Black Walnut, Tupelo, Pine, Spruce, Hemlock, White Cedar, Cypress, Larch, Arbor Vitæ, Red Cedar, Willow, Mahogany, Boxwood, Lignum Vitæ, Cork, Hemp, Flax, Cotton, Turpentine, Caoutchouc, Oils, Resins, Starch, Gum. *Materials from the Animal Kingdom*—Skins, Hair, and Fur, Quills and Feathers, Wool, Silk, Bone and Ivory, Horn, Tortoise Shell, Whale Bone, Glue, Oil, Wax, Phosphorus. *Materials used in Painting, Dyeing, and Varnishing.*

CHAPTER III.

Of the Form and Strength of Materials.

Modes of Estimation, Stress and Strain, Resistance, Extension, Compression, Lateral Strain, Stiffness, Tubes, Strength, Place of Strain, Incipient Fracture, Shape of Timber, Torsion, Limit of Bulk, Practical Remarks.

CHAPTER IV.

The Preservation of Materials.

Stones, Metals, Organic Substances, Temperature, Dryness, Wetness, Antiseptics. Timber—Felling, Seasoning. Preservation of Timber.—Preservation of Animal Texture—Embalming, Tanning, Parchment, Catgut, Gold Beater's Skin. Specimens in Natural History—Appert's Process.

CHAPTER V.

Of Dividing and Uniting Materials.

Cohesion. *Modes of Division*—Fracture, Cutting Machines, Penetration, Boring and Drilling, Turning, Attrition, Sawing, Saw Mill, Circular Saw, Crushing, Stamping Mill, Bark Mill, Oil Mill, Sugar Mill, Cider Mill, Grinding, Grist Mill, Color Mill. *Modes of Union*—Insertion, Interposition, Binding, Locking, Cementing, Glueing, Welding, Soldering, Casting, Fluxes, Moulds.

CHAPTER VI.

Of Changing the Color of Materials.

Of Applying Superficial Color—Painting, Colors, Preparation, Application, Crayons, Water Colors, Distemper, Fresco, Encaustic Painting, Oil Painting, Varnishing, Japanning, Polishing, Lacquering, Gilding. *Of Changing Intrinsic Color*—Bleaching, Photogenic Drawing, Dyeing, Mordants, Dyes, Calico Printing.

CHAPTER VII.

The Arts of Writing and Printing.

Letters. Invention of Letters, Arrangement of Letters, Writing Materials, Papyrus, Herculaneum, Manuscripts, Parchment, Paper, Instruments, Ink, Copying Machines, Printing, Types, Cases, Sizes, Composing, Imposing, Signatures, Correcting the Press, Press Work, Printing Press, Stereotyping, Machine Printing. History.

CHAPTER VIII.

Arts of Designing and Painting.

Divisions, Perspective, Field of Vision, Distance and Foreshortening, Definitions. Plate II—Problems, Instrumental, Perspective, Mechanical Perspective, Perspectographs, Projections, Isometrical Perspective, Chiaro Oscuro, Light and Shade, Association, Direction of Light, Reflected Light, Expression of Shape. Eyes of a Portrait—Shadows, Aerial Perspective, Coloring, Colors, Shades, Tone, Harmony, Contrast. Remarks.

CHAPTER IX.

Arts of Engraving and Lithography.

Engraving, Origin, Materials, Instruments, Styles, Line, Engraving, Medal Ruling, Stippling, Etching, Mezzo-tinto, Aqua Tinta, Copperplate Printing, Colored Engravings, Steel Engraving, Wood Engraving. Lithography—Principles, Origin, Lithographic Stones, Preparation, Lithographic Ink and Chalk, Mode of Drawing, Etching the Stone, Printing, Printing Ink. Remarks.

CHAPTER X.

Of Sculpture, Modelling, and Casting.

Subjects—Modelling, Casting in Plaster, Bronze Casting, Practice of Sculpture, Materials, Objects of Sculpture, Gem Engraving, Cameos, Intaglios, Mosaic, Scagliola.

CHAPTER XI.

Of Architecture and Building.

Architecture—Elements, Foundations, Column, Wall, Lintel, Arch, Abutments, Arcade, Vault, Dome, Plate I, Roof, Styles of Building, Definitions, Measures, Drawings, Restorations, *Egyptian Style*, *The Chinese Style*, *The Grecian Style*, Orders of Architecture—Doric Order, Ionic Order, Corinthian Order, Caryatides, Grecian Temple, Grecian Theatre, Remarks, Plate IV, *Roman Style*, Tuscan Order, Roman Doric, Roman Ionic, Composite Order, Roman Structures. Remarks, Plate V, *Greco-Gothic Style*, *Saracenic Style*, *Gothic Style*, Definitions, Plate VI, Plate VII, Application.

CHAPTER XII.

Arts of Heating and Ventilation.

Production of Heat—Fuel, Weight of Fuel, Combustible Matter of Fuel, Water in Fuel, Charcoal, *Communication of Heat*, Radiated and Conducted Heat, Fire in the Open Air, Fire Places, Admission of Cold Air, Open Fires, Franklin Stove, Rumford Fire Place, Double Fire Place, Coal Grate, Anthracite Grate, Burns' Grate, Building a Fire, Furnaces, Stoves, Russian Stove, Cockle, Cellar Stoves, and Air Flues, Heating by Water, Heating by Steam, *Retention of Heat*, Causes of Loss, Crevices, Chimneys, Entries and Sky Lights, Windows, *Ventilation*, Objects, Modes, Ventilators, Culverts, Smoky Rooms, Damp Chimneys, Large Fire

Places, Close Rooms, Contiguous Doors, Short Chimneys, Opposite Fire Places, Neighboring Eminences, Turncap, &c., Contiguous Flues, Burning of Smoke.

CHAPTER XIII.

Arts of Illumination.

Flame—Support of Flame, Torches and Candles, Lamps, Reservoirs, Astral Lamp, Hydrostatic Lamps, Automaton Lamp, Mechanical Lamps, Fountain Lamp, Argand Lamp, Reflectors, Hanging of Pictures, Transparency of Flame, Glass Shades, Sinumbral Lamp, Measurement of Light, Gas Lights, Coal Gas, Oil Gas, Gasometer, Portable Gas Lights, Safety Lamp, Lamp without Flame, Modes of procuring Light.

CHAPTER XIV.

Arts of Locomotion.

Motion of Animals, Inertia, Aids to Locomotion, Wheel Cariages. Wheels, Rollers, Size of Wheels, Line of Traction, Broad Wheels, Form of Wheels, Axletrees, Springs, Attaching of Horses, Highways, Roads, Pavements, McAdam Roads, *Bridges*, 1, Wooden Bridges, 2, Stone Bridges, 3, Cast Iron Bridges, 4, Suspension Bridges, 5, Floating Bridges, *Rail Roads*, Edge Railway, Tram Road, Single Rail, Passings, Propelling Power, Locomotive Engines, *Canals*, Embankments, Aqueducts, Tunnels, Gates and Weirs, Locks, Boats, Size of Canals, *Sailing*, Form of a Ship, Keel and Rudder, Effect of the Wind, Stability of a Ship, Steam Boats, *Diving Bell*, Submarine Navigation, *Aerostation*, Balloon, Parachute.

CHAPTER XV.

Elements of Machinery.

Machines, Motion, *Rotary or Circular Motion*, Band Wheels, Rag Wheels, Toothed Wheels, Spiral Gear, Bevel Gear, Crown Wheel, Universal Joint, Perpetual Screw, Brush Wheels, Ratchet Wheel, Distant Rotary Motion, Change of Velocity, Fusee, *Alternate or Reciprocating Motion*, Cams, Crank, Parallel Motion, Sun and Planet Wheel, Inclined Wheel, Epicycloidal Wheel, Rack and Segment, Rack and Pinion, Belt and Segment, Scapements, *Continued Rectilinear Motion*, Band, Rack, Universal Lever, Screw, Change of Direction, Toggle Joint, *Of Engaging and Disengaging Machinery*, *Of Equalizing Motion*, Governor, Fly Wheel, *Friction*, Remarks.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Moving Forces used in the Arts.

Sources of Power, Vehicles of Power, *Animal Power*, Men, Horses, *Water Power*, Overshot Wheel, Chain Wheel, Undershot Wheel, Back Water, Besant's Wheel, Lambert's Wheel, Breast Wheel, Horizontal Wheel, Barker's Mill, Wind Power, Vertical Windmill, Adjustment of Sails, Horizontal Windmill, *Steam Power*, Steam, Applications of Steam, By Condensation, By Generation, By Expansion, The Steam Engine, Boiler Appendages, Engine, Noncondensing Engine, Condensing Engines, Description, Expansion, Engines, Valves, Pistons, Parallel Motion, Historical Remarks, Projected Improvements, Rotative Engines, Use of Steam at High Temperatures, Use of Vapors of Low Temperature, Gas Engines, Steam Carriages, Steam Gun, *Gunpowder*, Manufacture, Detonation, Force, Properties of a Gun, Blasting.

CHAPTER XVII.

Arts of Conveying Water.

Of Conducting Water—Aqueducts, Water Pipes, Friction of Pipes, Obstruction of Pipes, Syphon, *Of Raising Water*, Scoop Wheel, Persian Wheel, Noria, Rope Pump, Hydreole, Archimedes' Screw, Spiral Pump, Centrifugal Pump, Common Pumps, Forcing Pumps, Plunger Pump, Delahire's Pump, Hydrostatic Press, Lifting Pump, Bag Pump, Double Acting Pump, Rolling Pump, Eccentric Pump, Arrangement of Pipes, Chain Pump, Schemnitz Vessels, or Hungarian Machine, Hero's Fountain, Atmospheric Machines, Hydraulic Ram, *Of Projecting Water*. Fountains, Fire Engines, Throwing Wheel.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arts of Combining Flexible Fibres.

Theory of Twisting, Rope Making, *Cotton Manufacture*, Elementary Inventions, Batting, Carding, Drawing, Roving, Spinning, Mule Spinning, Warping, Dressing, Weaving, Twilling, Double Weaving, Cross Weaving, Lace, Carpeting, Tapestry, Velvets, Linens, *Woolens*, *Felting*, *Paper Making*.

CHAPTER XIX.

Arts of Horology.

Sun Dial, Clepsydra, Water Clock, Clock Work, Maintaining Power, Regulating Movement, Pendulum, Balance, Scapement, Description of a Clock, Striking Part, Description of a Watch.

CHAPTER XX.

Arts of Metallurgy.

Extraction of Metals, Assaying, Alloys, *Gold*, Extraction, Cupellation, Parting, Cementation, Alloy, Working, Gold Beating, Gilding on Metals, Gold Wire, *Silver*, Extraction, Working, Coining, Plating, *Copper*, Extraction, Working, Brass, Manufacture, Buttons, Pins, Bronze, *Lead*, Extraction, Manufacture, Sheet Lead, Lead Pipes, Leaden Shot, *Tin*, Block Tin, Tin Plates, Silvering of Mirrors, *Iron*, Smelting, Crude Iron, Casting, Malleable Iron, Forging, Rolling and Slitting, Wire Drawing, Nail Making, Gun Making, Steel, Alloys of Steel, Case Hardening, Tempering, Cutlery.

CHAPTER XXI.

Arts of Vitrification.

Glass, Materials, Crown Glass, Fritting, Melting, Blowing, Annealing, Broad Glass, Flint Glass, Bottle Glass, Cylinder Glass, Plate Glass, Moulding, Pressing, Cutting, Stained Glass, Enamelling, Artificial Gems, Devitrification, Reaumur's Porcelain, Crystallo-Ceramie, Glass Thread, Remarks.

CHAPTER XXII.

Arts of Induration by Heat.

Bricks, Tiles, Terra Cotta, Crucibles, Pottery, Operations, Stone Ware, White Ware, Throwing, Pressing, Casting, Burning, Printing, Glazing, China Ware, European Porcelain, Etruscan Vases.

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4. Agriculture considered as an Employment.
5. Earths and Soils.
6. Improvement of the Soil.
7. Analogy between Animal and Vegetable Nutrition.
8. Further Improvement of the Soil.
9. " " by Manures, Animal and Vegetable.
10. " " by Mineral Manures.
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The author's design, in this work, is to describe the Common Schools as they were in New-England at the beginning of the present century; to delineate the peculiar characters of different Teachers; and to give a sketch of her various school companions, with their progress in after life, endeavoring thereby to show that the child, while at school, is forming the future man, or woman.

It is not the intention of the Publishers to drive these works through the Press with a railroad speed, in the hope of securing the market, by the multiplicity of the publications cast upon the community; they rely for patronage, upon the intrinsic merits of the works, and consequently time must be allowed the writers to mature and systematize them. The more surely to admit of this, the two Series will be issued in sets of five and ten volumes at a time. Besides the advantage above alluded to, that will result from such an arrangement, it will place The School Library within the reach of those Districts, which, from the limited amount of their annual funds, would not otherwise be enabled to procure it.

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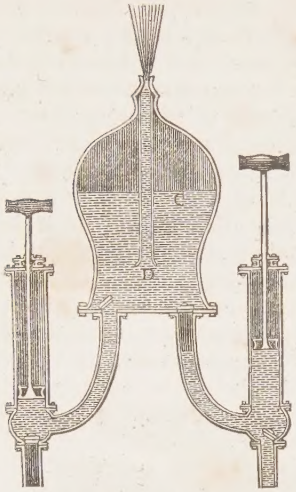
The Publishers solicit orders from School Committees, Trustees, Teachers, and others, for either or both Series, and wish particular directions *how*, to *whom*, and *to what place* the books shall be forwarded.

Annexed are Specimen Pages of the two Series.



carried into the reservoir, and they fill it half full of water, C; the mouth of the pipe, D, which is to convey away the water, reaches into the water in the reservoir. As the water rises, the air is compressed: so that, although the pumps act alternately, the elasticity of the contained air acts uninterruptedly in pressing on the surface of the water, and raising it by the tube, D, in an equable stream. The elasticity of the contained air, fills up the interval between the actions of the pumps, and admits of no interruption to the force with which the water is propelled upwards.

Surely these are sufficient indications of the necessity of three powers acting in propelling the blood from the heart. The first, is a sudden and powerful action of the ventricle: the second, is a contraction of the artery, somewhat similar, excited by its distention: the third, though a property independent of life, is a power permitting no interval or alternation; it is the elasticity of the coats of the artery: and these three powers, duly adjusted, keep up a continued stream in the blood-vessels. It is true, that when an artery is wounded, the blood flows

The superior sagacity of animals which hunt their prey, and which, consequently, depend for their livelihood upon their *nose*, is well known in its use; but not at all known in the organization which produces it.

The external *ears* of beasts of prey, of lions, tigers, wolves, have their trumpet-part, or concavity, standing forward, to seize the sounds which are before them—viz., the sounds of the animals which they pursue or watch. The ears of animals of flight are turned backward, to give notice of the approach of their enemy from behind, whence he may steal upon them unseen. This is a critical distinction, and is mechanical; but it may be suggested, and, I think, not without probability, that it is the effect of continual habit.

[Heads of the hare and wolf, showing the different manner in which the ears are turned.—Am. Ed.]

The *eyes* of animals which follow their prey by night, as cats, owls, &c., possess a faculty not given to those of other species, namely, of closing the pupil *entirely*.

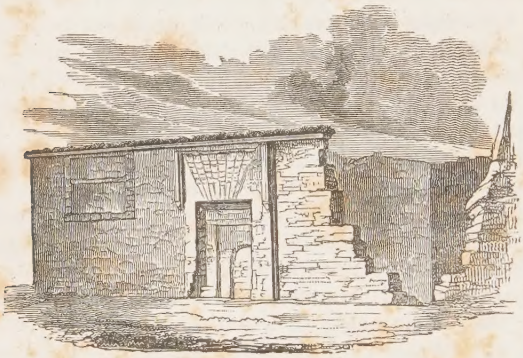
It is difficult even for the imagination to conceive the feelings of such a man, at the moment of so sublime a discovery. What a bewildering crowd of conjectures must have thronged upon his mind, as to the land which lay before him, covered with darkness. That it was fruitful was evident from the vegetables which floated from its shores. He thought, too, that he perceived in the balmy air the fragrance of aromatic groves. The moving light which he had beheld, proved that it was the residence of man. But what were its inhabitants? Were they like those of other parts of the globe; or were they some strange and monstrous race, such as the imagination in those times was prone to give to all remote and unknown regions? Had he come upon some wild island, far in the Indian seas; or was this the famed Cipango itself, the object of his golden fancies? A thousand speculations of the kind must have swarmed upon him, as he watched for the night to pass away; wondering whether the morning light would reveal a savage wilderness, or dawn upon spicy groves, and glittering fanes, and gilded cities, and all the splendors of oriental civilization.

CHAPTER XI.

First Landing of Columbus in the New World.—Cruise among the Bahama Islands.—Discovery of Cuba and Hispaniola. [1492.]

When the day dawned, Columbus saw before him a level and beautiful island, several leagues in extent, of great freshness and verdure, and covered with trees like a continual orchard. Though every thing appeared in the wild luxuriance of untamed nature, yet the island was evidently populous, for the inhabitants were seen issuing from the woods, and running from all parts to the shore. They were all perfectly naked, and from their attitudes

residence of Martin Alonzo or Vicente Yañez Pinzon, in the time of Columbus.



We now arrived at the church of St. George, in the porch of which Columbus first proclaimed to the inhabitants of Palos the order of the sovereigns, that they should furnish him with ships for his great voyage of discovery. This edifice has lately been thoroughly repaired, and, being of solid mason-work, promises to stand for ages, a monument of the discoverers. It stands outside of the village, on the brow of a hill, looking along a little valley toward the river. The remains of a Moorish arch prove it to have been a mosque in former times; just above it, on the crest of the hill, is the ruin of a Moorish castle.

I paused in the porch, and endeavored to recall the interesting scene that had taken place there, when Columbus, accompanied by the zealous friar Juan Perez, caused the public notary to read the royal order in presence of the astonished alcaldes, regidors, and alguazils; but it is difficult to conceive the consternation that must have been struck into so remote a little community, by this sudden apparition of an entire stranger among them, bearing a command that they should put their persons and ships at his disposal, and sail with him away into the unknown wilderness of the ocean.

The interior of the church has nothing remarkable,

work of creation and the work of grace revealed in the word of God. Proofs corroborative of the authenticity of the Bible, have been gathered from those very sources which formerly were applied to by the skeptic for his sharpest weapons; and at this moment, (such is the security with which Christianity may regard the progress of knowledge,) there does not exist in our own country, nor, so far as I am aware, in any other, one philosopher of eminence who has ventured to confront Christianity and philosophy, as manifestly contradictory. May we not venture to hope that, in a very short time, the weak darts of minor spirits, which from time to time are still permitted to assail our bulwarks, will be also quenched, and the glorious Gospel, set free from all the oppositions of science falsely so called, shall walk hand in hand over the earth with a philosophy always growing in humility, because every day becoming more genuine. C. J. C. D.

TWELFTH WEEK—MONDAY.

VEGETABLE SUBSTANCES USED FOR WEAVING.—THE COTTON-PLANT.

THE cotton-plant, another vegetable substance, extensively used in manufactures, differs materially from that already described, in its properties, appearance, and habits. Instead of being generally diffused over temperate climates, it belongs more properly to the torrid zone, and the regions bordering on it; and instead of being chiefly confined to one species, as to its peculiar and useful qualities, its varieties seem scarcely to have any limit, extending from an herb* of a foot or two in height, to a tree†

* Gossypium herbaceum, or common herbaceous cotton-plant.

† Bombax ceiba, or American silk cotton-tree.—[The Baobab, or *Adansonia digitata*, an enormous and long-lived tree, also belongs to this family. But it is incorrect to call these trees "varieties" of the cotton plant. They are nearly allied to it, indeed, but they stand in different divisions of the great order of *malvaceæ*, or mallows; and the downy contents of their pods are of little use compared with true cotton. —AM. ED.]

Coup de main, (French term,) a military expression, denoting an instantaneous, sudden, unexpected attack upon an enemy.

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori, It is delightful and glorious to die for one's country.

Effigies Seb. Caboti Angli filii Joannis Caboti militis aurati. As will be seen by the text, where this inscription occurs, (p. 121,) there is an ambiguity in the application of the last two words. The other part of the inscription, may be rendered, "the portrait (or likeness) of Sebastian Cabot, of England, son of John Cabot." *Miles*, or *militis*, means, literally, a warrior, or soldier, or officer of the army; and in the English law, sometimes indicates a knight. *Auratus*, or *aurati*, means gilt, gilded, or decked with gold. *Eques* means a horseman, or knight, who was frequently called *eques auratus*, because, anciently, none but knights were allowed to beautify their armor, and other habiliments, with gold.

En masse, in a body, in the mass, altogether.

Eques, and *Eques auratus.* See *Effigies.*

Fascine, (pl. *fascines*,) a bundle of fagots, or small branches of trees, or sticks of wood, bound together, for filling ditches, &c.

Formula, (pl. *formulæ*,) a prescribed form or order.

Geodætic, relating to the art of measuring surfaces.

Gramina, grasses.

Green Mountain Boys, a term applied, during the Revolutionary War, to the inhabitants of Vermont, (Green Mountain,) particularly those who were in the army.

Gymnotus, the electric eel.

Habeas Corpus, "you may have the body." A writ, as it has been aptly termed, of personal freedom; which secures, to any individual, who may be imprisoned, the privilege of having his cause immediately removed to the highest court, that the judges may decide whether there is ground for his imprisonment or not.

Hipparchus, a celebrated mathematician and astronomer of Nicæa, in Bithynia, who died 125 years before the Christian era. He was the first after Thales and Sulpicius Gallus, who found out the exact time of eclipses, of which he made a calculation for 600 years. He is supposed to have been the first, who reduced astronomy to a science, and prosecuted the study of it systematically.

Loyalists, Royalists, Refugees, and Tories. In the times of the Revolution, these terms were used as technical or party names, and were sometimes applied indiscriminately. Strictly speaking, however, *Loyalists*, were those whose feelings or opinions were in favor of the mother country, but who declined taking part in the Revolution; *Royalists*, were those who preferred or favored, a kingly government; *Refugees*, were those who fled from the country and sought the protection of the British; and *Tories*, were those, who actually opposed the war, and took part with the enemy, aiding them by all the means in their power.

Magnetic Variation, a deviation of the needle in the mariner's compass, from an exact North and South direction.

Master-at-arms, an officer appointed to take charge of the small arms in a ship of war, and to teach the officers and crew the exercise of

ring it all the time. Of course I do not make it every time it is wanted, for sometimes, when I want it extra good, I boil and stir it a full hour, and then I put it away in a close vessel and in a cool place. For Raymond, or for any one getting well, and free from fever, I put in a third wheat flour, and half milk. You see it is a very simple process, sir."

"Yes—simple enough. But it is to these simple processes that people will not give their attention."

Mary had the happiness of seeing Raymond sitting up before their parents returned, and when they drove into the great gate, and up the lane, he was in his rocking-chair by the window, watching for them. They had heard of his illness, and were most thankful to find him so far recovered. The Doctor chanced to be present when they arrived. "O, Doctor!" said Mrs. Bond, after the first greetings were over, "how shall I ever be grateful enough to you?"

"I have done very little, Mrs. Bond," replied the honest Doctor. "In Raymond's case, medicine could do little or nothing. Nature had been overtasked, and wanted rest and soothing. Under God, Raymond owes his recovery to Mary."

"O, mother!" exclaimed Raymond, bursting into tears, "she is the best sister in the world!"

"She is the best sister in the *two* worlds!" cried little Grace Bond, a child of five years old.

A source of true comfort and happiness is such a child and such a sister as Mary Bond!—a light

us, as soon as we are missed; let us keep on and perhaps we may find some other path."

The poor children proceeded on their course, unconscious that every step was taking them deeper into the forest, until, completely bewildered by the thick darkness, and overcome with fatigue, they could go no further. "Let us pray to God, and then we can lie down, and die in peace," said George; and the innocent children knelt down on the fallen leaves, and lisped their simple prayers, as they were accustomed to do at their mother's side.

"We must try to find some shelter, George," said Kate, as they arose from their knees, "this chill air will kill you, even if we escape the wild beasts." As she spoke, the light of a young moon which faintly illumined the depths of the wood, enabled her to discover a hollow log lying near. Tearing off some branches from the brittle hemlock tree, she piled them around the log, in such a manner, as to form a sort of penthouse; and, placing George within the more effectual shelter of the log, she lay down by his side. Worn with fatigue, notwithstanding their fears, the children soon fell into a profound sleep; and the beams of the morning sun, shining through the branches which formed their covering, first awoke them from their peaceful slumbers.

Their little hearts swelled with gratitude to the merciful God, who had preserved them through the perils of the night, and the morning hymn which was wont to resound within the walls of their

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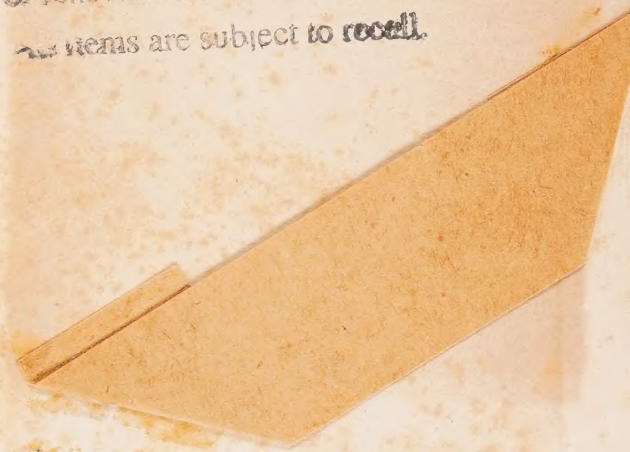

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